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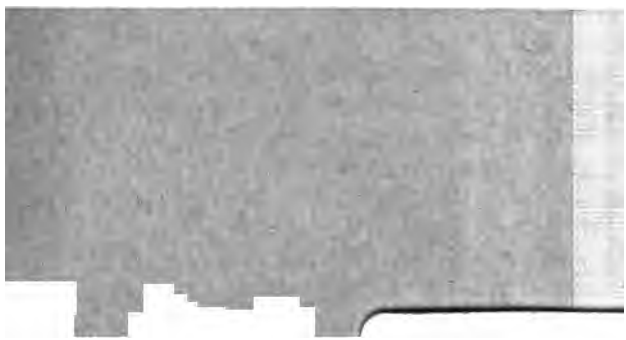

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WITH

An Account of the AUTHOR'S LIFE,

AND

NOTES HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

By J. HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. and others.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THUS, the long-wiſhed-for HISTORY *of the* FOUR LAST YEARS *of the QUEEN's reign is at length brought to light, in ſpite of all attempts to ſuppreſs it!*

As this publication is not made under the ſanction of the name or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit ſome account of the work's appearing in this manner ſhould be here given.

Long before the DEAN's *apparent decline, ſome of his intimate friends, with concern, foreſaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this, it is owing, that theſe ſheets, which the world now deſpaired of ever ſeeing, are reſcued from obſcurity, perhaps from deſtruction.*

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman now in* Ireland, *of the greateſt probity and worth, with whom the* DEAN *long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the* DEAN *entruſted a copy of his hiſtory, deſiring him to peruſe and give his judgment of it, with the laſt corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.*

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of ſo valuable and ſo intereſting a work's being by any accident loſt or effaced, as was probable, by its not being intended to be publiſhed in the author's lifetime: he reſolved to keep this copy, till the author ſhould preſs him for it; but with a determined purpoſe, it ſhould never ſee the light, while there were

* At the time of the firſt publication of the following hiſtory.

any hopes of the author's own copy being publiſhed, or even preſerved.

This reſolution, he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full aſſurance, that the DEAN'S *executors, or thoſe, into whoſe hands the original copy fell, were ſo far from intending to publiſh it, that it was actually ſuppreſſed, perhaps deſtroyed.*

Then, he thought himſelf not only at liberty, but judged it his duty to his departed friend, and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years moſt ſecretly, ſee the light.

Thus, it has at length fallen into the hands of a perſon, who publiſhes it for the ſatisfaction of the public, abſtracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come in competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will ſee, that the author of theſe ſheets wrote with ſtrong paſſions, but with ſtronger prepoſſeſſions and prejudices in favour of a party. Theſe, it may be imagined, the editor, in ſome meaſure, may have adopted, and publiſhed this work as a kind of ſupport to that party, or ſome ſurviving remnant thereof.

It is but juſt to undeceive the reader, and inform him, from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he deſpiſes the ſubject: if the ſubject be ever ſo deſpicable, the maſterly ſtrokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other reſpects, is entitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry, we carry our admiration ſtill further, and like the poet, while we actually contemn the

man.

man. Hiſtorians ſhare the like fate: Hence ſome, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, ſtyle, manner, and the like.

The editor conſiders this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no ſtranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, paſſions, and the whole œconomy of his life. He has long been hardily ſingular in condemning this great man's conduct, amidſt the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an intereſt in a man, whoſe principles and manners, he could, by no rule of reaſon and honour, approve, however he might have admired his parts and wit.

Such was judged the diſpoſition of the man, whoſe hiſtory of the moſt intereſting period of time in the annals of Britain, *are now herein offered to the reader. He may well aſk, from what motives? The anſwer is eaſily, ſimply given:*

The cauſes aſſigned for delaying the publication of this hiſtory, were principally theſe: That the manuſcript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were, by the DEAN, *believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his lifetime. Theſe men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendſhip, by the* DEAN'S *will, did not chooſe publicly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a ſtop to theirs; therefore, they gave the inquiſitive world to underſtand, that there was ſomething too ſtrong againſt many great*

men, as well as the ſucceeding ſyſtem of public affairs in general, in the DEAN'S *Hiſtory of the Four Laſt Years of the* QUEEN'S *Reign, to admit of a publication, in our times: and, with this poor inſinuation, excuſed themſelves, and ſatisfied the weakly well-affected, in ſuppreſſing the manifeſtation of diſpleaſing truths, of however great importance to ſociety.*

This manuſcript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could aſſociate with, or even approve any of the parties or factions, that have differently diſtracted, it might be ſaid, diſgraced theſe kingdoms; becauſe, he has as yet known none, whoſe motives or rules of action, were truth and the public good alone; of one who judges that perjured magiſtrates of all denominations, and their moſt exalted minions, may be expoſed, deprived, and cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon theſe principles, from his heart, approves and glories in, the virtues of his predeceſſors, who revived the true ſpirit of the Britiſh *polity, in laying aſide a prieſt-ridden, an hen-pecked tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political conſtitution of his country, and in re-inſtituting the diſſolved body politic, by a* revolution, *ſupported by the laws of nature, and the realm, as the only means of preſerving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.*

Truth, in this man's eſtimation, can hurt no good cauſe. And falſhood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Inſinuations, that this hiſtory contained ſomething injurious to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and therefore

neceſſary

neceſſary to be ſuppreſſed, ſerve better the purpoſes of miſtaken or inſidious malecontents, than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other hiſtory to be ſhewn eſſentially erroneous in our politics: who, that calls himſelf a Briton, *can be deemed ſuch an impious ſlave, as to conceal the deſtructive evil? The editor of this work diſdains and abhors the ſervile thought; and wiſhes to live no longer, than he dare to think, ſpeak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a* Briton.

From this regard to truth, and to his country, the editor of this hiſtory was glad of an opportunity of reſcuing ſuch a writing from thoſe who meant to ſuppreſs it: the common cauſe, in his eſtimation, required and demanded it ſhould be done; and the ſooner it is publiſhed, he judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the Queen and her miniſters does not deſerve the obloquy that has been long induſtriouſly caſt upon it; what is more juſt than to vindicate it? What more reaſonable, than that this ſhould be done, while living witneſſes may yet be called to prove or diſprove the ſeveral allegations and aſſertions; ſince, in a few years more, ſuch witneſſes may be as much wanting, as to prevent a canonization, which is therefore prudently procraſtinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be ſaid on this ſide the queſtion, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to juſtify the author of this hiſtory, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: without being deeply verſed in hiſtory or politics, he can ſee his author, in many inſtances, blinded with paſſions,

paſſions, that diſgrace the hiſtorian, and blending with phraſes, worthy of a Cæſar *or a* Cicero, *expreſſions not to be juſtified by truth, reaſon, or common ſenſe; yet think him a moſt powerful orator, and a great hiſtorian.*

No unprejudiced perſon will blame the DEAN, *for doing all that is conſiſtent with truth and decency, to vindicate the government of the* QUEEN, *and to exculpate the conduct of her miniſters, and her laſt general; all good men would rejoice at ſuch a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deſerve the title of an hiſtory. That he generally tells truths, and founds his moſt material aſſertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to ſuſpect, that, while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear, that the* QUEEN'S *allies, eſpecially our worthy friends the* Dutch, *were much to blame, for the now generally condemned conduct of the* QUEEN, *with regard to the proſecution of the war, and the bringing about the peace.*

The author's drawings of characters are confeſſedly partial: for he tells us openly, p. 6. *he means not to give characters entire, but ſuch parts of each man's particular* paſſions, acquirements, *and* habits, *as he* was moſt likely to transfer into his political ſchemes. *What writing, what ſentence, what character can ſtand this torture?—What extreme perverſion may not, let me ſay, does not this produce?—Yet thus does he chooſe to treat all men that were not favourers of the* lateſt *meaſures of the* QUEEN,

when the beſt that has been ſaid for her, ſhews no more than that ſhe was blindfolded, *and* held in leading-ſtrings *by her* miniſters.

He does not ſpare a man, confeſſed by all the world, to have diſcharged the duties of his function, like a ſoldier, like an hero. But charges Prince EUGENE *with raiſing and keeping up a moſt horrible mob, with intent to aſſaſſinate* Harley. *For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.*

He is not content, with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, *but inſinuates a new crime, by ſeeming to attempt to acquit him of aſpiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.*

On the other hand, he extols the miniſters and minions of the QUEEN *in the higheſt terms; and while he robs their antagoniſts of every good quality, generally gives thoſe wiſdom, and every virtue that can adorn human nature.*

He is not aſhamed to attempt to juſtify, what all thinking good men muſt condemn, the QUEEN'S *making twelve peers at once, to ſerve a particular turn.*

All theſe may be aſcribed to the ſtrength of his paſſions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favour of his indulgent Royal Miſtreſs, and her favourites and ſervants. The judicious will look through the elegant clothing, and diſpaſſionately conſider theſe as mere human errors, to which no well-informed mind

can

can aſſent. The editor thinks himſelf bound to proteſt againſt them.

He makes a few lapſes on the other ſide, without being as clear as an impartial hiſtorian would chooſe to appear. He more than hints at the QUEEN'S *diſpleaſure at its being moved in parliament, that the Prince* ELECTOR *ſhould be invited to reſide in* England, *to whoſe crown he was by law declared preſumptive heir: But is always open upon the* QUEEN'S *inſiſting on the* Pretender's *being ſent out of* France. *—It is eaſy to ſee how incompatible theſe things appear: nothing could tend more to ſecure the* Hanover *ſucceſſion, and to enlarge its benefits to* Britain, *than the bringing over the ſucceſſor, who ſhould, in every country, be well inſtructed in the language, cuſtoms, manners, religion and laws of his future ſubjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And, our author does not take the proper care to inform us, how far the* French *thought fit to comply with baniſhing the* Pretender *their dominions; ſince many ſtill live in doubt, that if he was ſent out of* France, *he was ſent into* England.

But there is one expreſſion of our author too perverſe, too groſly abuſed, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that he was ignorant of any word in the Engliſh *language. And leaſt of all can he be ſuppoſed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which, had it been ever ſo doubtful before, had a certain meaning impreſſed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no ſenſible ſubject can be ignorant.*

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding this, where our author ſpeaks of the late King James, *he calls him the* abdicated king, *and gives the ſame epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-adviſed, and ill-fated prince, in every ſenſe of the word, with* Romans *and* Engliſh, *and to all intents and purpoſes,* abdicated; *yet can he, in no ſenſe be called* abdicated; *unleſs the peoples aſſerting their rights, and defending themſelves againſt a king, who broke his compact with his ſubjects, and overturned their government, can be called* abdication *in them; which no man in his ſenſes can be hardy enough to ſupport, upon any principle of reaſon, or the laws of* England. *Let the reader judge, which this is moſt likely to be, error or deſign.*

Theſe exceptions the editor thought himſelf bound to make to ſome parts of this work, to keep clear of the diſagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatſoever denomination, in oppoſition to truth, and the rights and liberties of the ſubject.

Theſe laid aſide, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this hiſtory, from an inſinuation, made only ſince the author's death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the ſecrets of the adminiſtration, but made to believe he was a confident, only to engage him in the liſt of the miniſterial writers of that reign.

The falſhood of this will readily appear, upon peruſal of the work. This ſhews, he knew the moſt ſecret ſprings of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he ſtates facts, too well known to be conteſted, in elegant ſimplicity, and reaſons upon them

them with the talents of the greateſt hiſtorian. And thus makes an hiſtory, compoſed rather of negociations than actions, moſt entertaining, affecting, and intereſting, inſtead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and diſagreeable.

It is now fit to apologize for ſome errors, which the judicious muſt diſcover upon a peruſal of this work. It is for this, among other reaſons, much to be lamented, that this hiſtory was not publiſhed under the author's own inſpection. It is next to impoſſible, to copy or print any work without faults, and moſt ſo, where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet ſtrictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where ſome ſeeming inaccuracies in ſtyle or expreſſion have been diſcovered; the deference due to the author, made any alteration too preſumptuous a taſk for the editor. Theſe are therefore left to the amending hand of every ſenſible and polite reader.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account of the moſt important affairs at home, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, as well as of our negociations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but ſome time before and ſince. I ſhall relate the chief matters tranſacted by both Houſes in that ſeſſion, and diſcover the deſigns carried on by the heads of a diſcontented party, not only againſt the miniſtry, but in ſome manner againſt the crown itſelf: I likewiſe ſhall ſtate the debts of the nation, ſhew by what miſmanagement, and to ſerve what purpoſes, they were at firſt contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have ſo prodigiouſly grown, and what methods have ſince been taken to provide, not only for their payment, but to prevent the like miſ-

chief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I ſhall ſtrictly follow truth, or what reaſonably appeared to me to be ſuch, after the moſt impartial enquiries I could make, and the beſt opportunities of being informed by thoſe who were the principal actors or adviſers.

Neither ſhall I mingle panegyric or ſatire with an hiſtory intended to inform poſterity, as well as to inſtruct thoſe of the preſent age, who may be ignorant or miſled; ſince facts, truly related, are the beſt applauſes, or moſt laſting reproaches.

Diſcourſes upon ſubjects relating to the public, uſually ſeem to be calculated for *London* only, and ſome few miles about it; while the authors ſuppoſe their readers to be informed of ſeveral particulars, to which thoſe that live remote, are, for the generality, utter ſtrangers. Moſt people, who frequent this town, acquire a ſort of ſmattering (ſuch as it is) which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by inuendoes or hints at facts or perſons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a diſtance, although perhaps of much better underſtandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that theſe Memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and uſeful, it will be convenient to give the reader a ſhort view of the ſtate and diſpoſition of affairs, when the laſt ſeſſion of parliament began: and, becauſe the party-leaders, who had loſt their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing

ploying all their engines in an attempt to re-eſtabliſh themſelves, I ſhall venture one ſtep farther, and repreſent ſo much of their characters, as may be ſuppoſed to have influenced their politics.

On the 7th day of *December*, 1711, began the ſecond ſeſſion of parliament. It was now above a year ſince the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of ſtate, and of her houſhold, into other hands. However, three of the diſcontented lords were ſtill in poſſeſſion of their places; for the Duke of *Marlborough* continued general, the Duke of *Somerſet* maſter of the horſe, and the Earl of *Cholmondely*, treaſurer of her Majeſty's houſhold; likewiſe great numbers of the ſame party ſtill kept employments of value and importance, which had not been uſual of late years upon any changes of miniſtry. The Queen, who judged the temper of her people by this houſe of commons, which a landed intereſt had freely choſen, found them very deſirous of a ſecure and honourable peace, and diſpoſed to leave the management of it to her own wiſdom, and that of her council. She had, therefore, ſeveral months before the ſeſſion began, ſent to inform the States General of ſome overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and, during that ſummer, her Majeſty took ſeveral further ſteps in this great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congreſs for a general treaty at *Utrecht* was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negociations between our court and that

of *France*, I ſhall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot with reſpect to its debts; for the Earl of *Oxford*, lord treaſurer, had, in the preceding ſeſſion, propoſed and effected ways and means in the houſe of commons (where he was then a member) for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greateſt part lay upon the navy) without any new burthen (at leaſt after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the ſame time he took care to prevent further incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval proviſions, which hath ſaved the public ſomewhat more than *cent per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the intereſts and the meaſures of the preſent miniſtry, which had appeared ſo boldly in their defence, during a proſecution againſt one of their members; where the whole ſacred order was underſtood to be concerned. The zeal ſhewn for that moſt religious bill to ſettle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a freſh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified by her Majeſty chooſing one of their body to be a great officer of ſtate. *

By this time, likewiſe, all diſputes about theſe principles, which uſed originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and thoſe fantaſtical

* Dr. Robinſon, Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, to be Lord Privy-Seal.

taſtical words ought in juſtice to have been ſo too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to diſtinguiſh lovers of peace from lovers of war, or thoſe who would leave her Majeſty ſome degree of freedom in the choice of her miniſters, from others who could not be ſatisfied with her chooſing any, except ſuch as ſhe was moſt averſe from. But where a nation is once divided, intereſt and animoſity will keep open the breach, without being ſupported by any other principles; or, at worſt, a body of diſcontented people can change, and take up what principles they pleaſe. As to the diſpoſition of the oppoſite party, we all remember, that the removal of the laſt miniſtry was brought about by ſeveral degrees, through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one aſtoniſhment, before they fell into another; this ſcene laſted for ſome months, and was followed by a period of rage and deſpair, natural to thoſe, who reflect that they have loſt a ſecure game by their own raſhneſs, folly, and want of common management, when, at the ſame time, they knew by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adverſary lay ready to take the advantage. However, ſome time before the ſeſſion, the heads of that party began to recollect themſelves, and rally their forces, like an enemy that hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not purſued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little eſteem or friendſhip for each other, yet

they perfectly agreed in one general end, of diſtreſſing, by all poſſible methods, the new adminiſtration, wherein, if they could ſucceed ſo far as to put the Queen under any great neceſſity, another parliament muſt be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The iſſue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houſes, although under a different form, upon the very firſt day the parliament met; I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greateſt privacy and application, which muſt be acknowledged to have, for ſeveral days, diſconcerted ſome of the miniſtry, as well as diſpirited their friends, and the conſequences whereof have, in reality, been ſo very pernicious to the kingdom.

But becauſe the principal leaders in this deſign are the ſame perſons, to whom, ſince the loſs of their power, all the oppoſition has been owing, which the court received, either in treaties abroad, or the adminiſtration at home, it may not be improper to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appears chiefly to have influenced them in acting their ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpoſe; but ſhall only ſingle out thoſe paſſions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were moſt likely to transfer into their political ſchemes,

ſchemes, and which were moſt ſubſervient to the deſigns they ſeemed to have in view.

The Lord *Sommers* may very deſervedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party; he hath raiſed himſelf, by the concurrence of many circumſtances, to the greateſt employments of the ſtate, without the leaſt ſupport from birth or fortune; he hath conſtantly, and with great ſteadineſs, cultivated thoſe principles under which he grew. That accident which firſt produced him into the world, of pleading for the biſhops whom King *James* had ſent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican ſpirit, which the revolution had reſtored, began to teach other leſſons; That ſince we had accepted a new King from a Calviniſtical commonwealth, we muſt likewiſe admit new maxims in religion and government: But ſince the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their anceſtors, it was the practice of theſe politicians to introduce ſuch men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from thoſe to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the perſon I am now deſcribing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preſerve the favour of a prince; never offending in word or geſture, which were, in the higheſt degree, courteous and complaiſant, wherein he ſet an excellent example to his col-

leagues,

leagues, which they did not think fit to follow: But this extreme civility, which is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed, and in private converſation, where he obſerveth it as inviolably as if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, is ſometimes cenſured as formal.

Two reaſons are aſſigned for this behaviour: Firſt, that from the conſciouſneſs of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to intrude: The ſecond, that being ſenſible how ſubject he is to violent paſſions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching thoſe he converſes with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and reſpect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the leaſt appearance of provocation, which temper he ſtrives to ſubdue with the utmoſt violence upon himſelf; ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to heave, and his eyes to ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very moments when his words and the cadence of his voice were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner. Perhaps, that force upon his nature, may cauſe that inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who conſequently reckon diſſimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified by being the unconteſted head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers the pleaſure of reading

ing and thinking; and, in the intervals of his time, amuſeth himſelf with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite ſervant.

Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks in the character of that perſon who now preſideth over the diſcontented party, although he be not anſwerable for all their miſtakes; and if his precepts had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt engaging in that fooliſh proſecution of Dr. *Sacheverel*, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their ruin: That he blamed the rough demeanour of ſome perſons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her Majeſty was firmly reſolved into a treaty of peace, he adviſed his friends not to oppoſe it in its progreſs, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like uſage themſelves had met with after the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt probable way of diſgracing the promoters and adviſers. I have been the larger in repreſenting to the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius; becauſe, whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I propheſy the ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of buſineſs.

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s character hath been ſo variouſly

variouſly drawn, and is indeed of ſo mixed a nature in itſelf, that it is hard to pronounce on either ſide, without the ſuſpicion of flattery or detraction. I ſhall ſay nothing of his military accompliſhments, which the oppoſite reports of his friends and enemies among the ſoldiers, have rendered problematical: But if he be among thoſe who delight in war, it is agreed to be not for the reaſons common with other generals. Thoſe maligners, who deny him perſonal valour, ſeem not to conſider that this accuſation is charged at a venture, ſince the perſon of a wiſe general is too ſeldom expoſed, to form any judgment in the matter; and that fear which is ſaid to have ſometimes diſconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himſelf. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory Principle, and continued with a ſtrong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in ſome ſort ſupplied by a good underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world, which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his ſoliciting to be general for life; I am perſuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquiſites by continuing the war, and that he had then no intention of ſettling the crown in his family, his only ſon having been dead ſome years before: He is noted to be maſter of great temper, able to govern, or very well diſguiſe his paſſions,

paſſions, which are all melted down or extinguiſhed in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with reſpect of money, he makes up by a great profuſion of promiſes; but this perfection, ſo neceſſary in courts, is not very ſucceſsful in camps among ſoldiers, who are not refined enough to underſtand or to reliſh it.

His wife, the Dutcheſs, may juſtly challenge her place in this liſt: it is to her the Duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs and his fall. For above twenty years, ſhe poſſeſſed, without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent miſtreſs in the world; nor ever miſſed one ſingle opportunity that fell in her way, of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preſerved a tolerable court-reputation, with reſpect of love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breaſt, the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which were, ſordid avarice, diſdainful pride, and ungovernable rage. By the laſt of theſe, often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without ſome degree of wit; and hath, in her time, affected the character of it, by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the doctrine of Chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the loſs of power, favour and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have ſaid enough.

The

The next in order to be mentioned, is the Earl of *Godolphin*. It is ſaid he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which ſome very unjuſtly have objected as a reproach. He hath riſen gradually in four reigns; and was more conſtant to his ſecond maſter King *James*, than ſome others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the ſea-ſide, and kept conſtant correſpondence with him till the day of his death. He always profeſſed a ſort of a paſſion for the Queen at *St. Germains*; and his letters were to her in a ſtyle of what the *French* call *double-entendre*, in a mixture of love and reſpect: He uſed frequently to ſend her from hence little preſents of thoſe things, which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always aſked King *William*'s leave, as if without her privity; becauſe, if ſhe had known that circumſtance, it was to be ſuppoſed ſhe would not accept them. Phyſiognomiſts would hardly diſcover, by conſulting the aſpect of this Lord, that his predominant paſſions were love and play. That he could ſometimes ſcratch out a ſong in praiſe of his miſtreſs with a pencil and a card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be uſed either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the *Marlborough* family, and his paſſion for the Dutcheſs, were the cords which dragged him into a party whoſe principles he naturally diſliked, and whoſe leaders he perſonally hated, as they did him; he became a thorough convert by a perfect

a perfect trifle, taking pet at a nick-name * delivered by Dr. *Sacheverel*, with great indiſcretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himſelf. And this is one, among many inſtances, given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The Earl of *Sunderland* is another of that alliance. It ſeems to have been this gentleman's fortune, to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politics from his tutor. † It may be thought a blemiſh in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of thoſe republican principles with which he began; for, in his father's lifetime, while he was a member of the houſe of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuſe the title of Lord, (as he hath done to myſelf), ſwear that he would never be called otherwiſe than *Charles Spencer*, and hoped to ſee the day when there ſhould not be a peer in *England*. His underſtanding, at the beſt, is of the middling ſize; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his ſovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the reſult of his own nature. The ſenſe of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards thoſe to whom he hath given

* Volpone.

† Dr. Trimnel, ſince Biſhop of Winton.

the greateſt cauſe of complaint; for which reaſon, he will never forgive either the Queen, or the preſent treaſurer.

The Earl of *Wharton* hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with ſufficiency equal to the ableſt of them all; he hath imbibed his father's* principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its ſtead; excepting that circumſtance, he is a firm preſbyterian. He is perfectly ſkilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleaſure for making converts of young men of quality upon their firſt appearance; in which public ſervice, he contracted ſuch large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere juſtice, to leave *Ireland* at his mercy, where he had only time to ſet himſelf right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be aſhamed of him; for, beſides his talents above mentioned, he is very uſeful in parliament, being a ready ſpeaker, and content to employ his gift upon ſuch occaſions, where thoſe who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modeſty, are aſhamed to appear. In ſhort, he is an inconteſtible inſtance to diſcover the true nature of faction; ſince, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath, notwithſtanding, been able to make ſo conſiderable a figure.

The

* The Earl his father was a rigid Preſbyterian.

The Lord *Cowper*, although his merits are later than the reſt, deſerveth a rank in this great council. He was conſiderable in the ſtation of a practiſing lawyer; but, as he was raiſed to be a chancellor and a peer, without paſſing through any of the intermediate ſteps, which, in late times, hath been the conſtant practice; and, little ſkilled in the nature of government, or the true intereſt of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*, his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some improper paſſages of his life were thought to diſqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the Queen's conſcience; but theſe difficulties were eaſily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a perſon that would be ſubſervient to all their deſigns; wherein they were not diſappointed. As to his other accompliſhments, he was what we uſually call a piece of a ſcholar, and a good logical reaſoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf.

The laſt to be ſpoken of in this liſt, is the Earl of *Nottingham*, a convert and acquiſition to that party ſince their fall, to which he contributed his aſſiſtance, I mean his words, and probably his wiſhes; for he had always lived under the conſtant viſible profeſſion of principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his new friends. His vehement and frequent ſpeeches againſt admitting the

Prince of *Orange* to the throne, are yet to be ſeen; and although a numerous family gave a ſpecious pretence to his love of power and money for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reſerve of allegiance to his exiled maſter; of which his friends produce ſeveral inſtances, and ſome while he was ſecretary of ſtate to King *William*. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and ſeeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, ſo they are the excuſe of that ſtiffneſs and formality, with which his nature is fraught. His aduſt complexion diſpoſeth him to rigour and ſeverity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a ſincerer countenance, or more truly repreſenting his mind and manners. He hath ſome knowledge in the law, very amply ſufficient to defend his property at leaſt: a facility of utterance, deſcended to him from his father, and improved by a few ſprinklings of literature, hath brought himſelf and ſome few admirers into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother *Guernſey*, but chiefly in thoſe talents which he moſt values and pretends to, over whom, nevertheleſs, he preſerveth an aſcendant. His great ambition was, to be the head of thoſe who were called the Church Party; and indeed, his grave ſolemn deportment and countenance, ſeconded by abundance of profeſſions for their ſervice, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their ſenſe of his judg-

ment

ment and wiſdom; and this miſtake laſted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cauſe: but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one ſingle proſelyte to keep himſelf in countenance.

Theſe lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what ſort of perſons thoſe were, who had the boldneſs to encounter the Queen and miniſtry, at the head of a great majority of the landed intereſt; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her Majeſty's reign, the ſecurity, or, at leaſt, the freedom of her perſon, the lives of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſettling of the nation by a peace, were, in the conſequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addreſſes had been procured from both houſes to the Queen, repreſenting their opinion, that no peace could be ſecure with *Britain*, while *Spain*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, remained in the poſſeſſion of the *Bourbon* family. But her Majeſty having, for reaſons which have been often told to the world, and which will not be ſoon forgotten, called a new parliament, and choſe a new ſet of ſervants, began to view things and perſons in another light. She conſidered the neceſſities of her people, the diſtant proſpect of a peace upon ſuch an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or underſtood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen ſhe bore in the war, by the practices of the allies, upon the corruption of

ſome whom ſhe moſt truſted, or, perhaps, by the practices of theſe upon the allies; and, laſtly, by the changes which death had brought about in the *Auſtrian* and *Bourbon* families: upon all which motives, ſhe was prevailed upon to receive ſome overtures from *France*, in behalf of herſelf and the whole confederacy. The ſeveral ſteps of this negotiation, from its firſt riſe to the time I am now writing, ſhall be related in another part of this hiſtory. Let it ſuffice for the preſent to ſay, that ſuch propoſals were received from *France*, as were thought ſufficient, by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and ſoon after the opening of the ſeſſion, the Biſhop of *Briſtol* *, lord privy ſeal, was diſpatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the diſcontented party, who, during the whole ſummer, had obſerved the motions of the court running faſt towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppoſe her Majeſty's deſigns when the parliament ſhould meet: their only ſtrength was in the houſe of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy majority, made by thoſe whoſe hearts were in the other intereſt, but whoſe fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two Lords, upon whoſe abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their ſtrongeſt hopes.

* Dr. Robinſon, afterwards Biſhop of London.

hopes. The firſt was the Duke of *Somerſet*, maſter of the horſe. This Duke, as well as his Dutcheſs, were in a good degree of favour with the Queen, upon the ſcore of ſome civilities and reſpects her Majeſty had received from them while ſhe was Princeſs. For ſome years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late Earl of *Rocheſter* who firſt preſented him to King *William*. However, ſince the time he came into employment, which was towards the cloſe of the laſt reign, he hath been a conſtant zealous member of the other party, but never failed either in attendance or reſpect towards the Queen's perſon, or, at moſt, only threatened, ſometimes, that he would ſerve no longer, while ſuch or ſuch men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all, againſt duty or good behaviour. He had been much careſſed and flattered by the Lords of the *Junto**, who ſometimes went ſo far, as to give him hopes of the crown in reverſion to his family, upon failure of the houſe of *Hanover*. All this worked ſo far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they ſoon grew weary of his indigeſted ſchemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there; which his haughty

* A cant given to five Lords of that party.

haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus, a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole aſſembly of party leaders: ſo that, upon the Queen's firſt intentions of changing her miniſtry, ſoon after the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, he appointed ſeveral meetings with *Harley* alone, in the moſt private manner, in places and at times leaſt liable to ſuſpicion. He employed all his credit with the Queen, to drive on the removal of my Lord *Godolphin* and the reſt; and in the council treated the ſmall remainder, who continued ſome time longer in their places, with all poſſible marks of hatred or diſdain: but, when the queſtion came for diſſolving the parliament, he ſtopped ſhort. He had already ſatiated his reſentments, which were not againſt things, but perſons; he furiouſly oppoſed that council, and promiſed to undertake for the parliament himſelf. When the Queen had declared her pleaſure for the diſſolution, he flew off in a greater rage than ever, oppoſed the court in all elections where he had influence or power, and made very humble advances to reconcile himſelf with the diſcarded Lords, eſpecially the Earl of *Godolphin*, who is reported to have treated him at *Newmarket* in a moſt contemptuous manner. But the ſincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifeſtly in the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament, and the uſe he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his Dutcheſs, with the Queen, at length begat a reconcilement. He ſtill kept his employment and place in the cabinet-council, but

but had never appeared there, from an avowed diſlike of all perſons and proceedings. It happened about the end of the ſummer 1711, at *Windſor*, when the cabinet-council was ſummoned, this Duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the inſtability of his nature, took a fancy to reſume his place; and a chair was brought accordingly: upon which, Mr. Secretary *St. John* refuſed to aſſiſt; and gave his reaſons, that he would never ſit in council with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction, which endeavoured to obſtruct all her Majeſty's meaſures. Thus, the council was put off to next day, and the Duke made no farther attempts to be there. But upon this incident, he declared open war againſt the miniſtry; and from that time to the ſeſſion, employed himſelf in ſpiriting up ſeveral depending Lords to adhere to their friends, when an occaſion ſhould offer. The arguments he made uſe of were, That thoſe in power deſigned to make an ignominious and unſecure peace, without conſulting the allies; that this could be no otherways prevented, than by an addreſs from the Lords, to ſignify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or ſecure, while *Spain* or the *Weſt-Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* family; upon which ſeveral farther reſolutions and inquiries would naturally follow; that the diffe-rences between the two houſes upon this, muſt either be made up by the commons agreeing with the Lords, or muſt end in a diſſolution; which would

would be followed by a return of the old miniſtry; who, by the force of money and management, could eaſily get another parliament to their wiſhes. He farther aſſured them boldly, that the Queen herſelf was at the bottom of this deſign, and had empowered him to deſire their votes againſt the peace, as a point that would be for her ſervice; and therefore, they need not be in pain upon account of their penſions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of uſing her Majeſty's authority againſt her perſon, he prevailed over ſome who were not otherways in a ſtation of life to oppoſe the crown; and his proſelytes may pretend to ſome ſhare of pity, ſince he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deſerve the loſs of both.

The other Lord, in whom the diſcontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the Earl of *Nottingham*, already mentioned; than whom, no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleaſed at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had in ſharing their ſpoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the Queen, or her new ſervants: theſe apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public buſineſs, from his reſtleſs, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was ſuffered to have any part in affairs; and he ſtood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the houſe of Lords, and in

in her Majeſty's preſence, that the electoral prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reſide in *England*, although he had before declared to the Queen, how much he was againſt that propoſal, when it was firſt offered by the other party. However, ſome very conſiderable employments had been given to his neareſt relations; and he had one or two offers for himſelf, which he thought fit to refuſe, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the Earl of *Rocheſter's* deceaſe, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for preſident of the council, and deeply reſented that diſappointment. But the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Lord privy ſeal, dying ſome time after, he found that office was firſt deſigned for the Earl of *Jerſey*; and, upon this Lord's ſudden death, was actually diſpoſed of to the Biſhop of *Briſtol*; by which he plainly ſaw, that the Queen was determined againſt giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or diſplaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now ſhaken off all remains of patience or temper; and from the contemplations of his own diſappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to aſſure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The diſcontented Lords were ſoon apprized of this great change; and the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Earl's ſon-in-law, was diſpatched down to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his preſent diſpoſitions, and offer him whatever terms he pleaſed to inſiſt on. The Earl immediately

diately agreed to fall in with any meaſures for diſtreſſing or deſtroying the miniſtry. But, in order to preſerve his reputation with the church-party, and, perhaps, bring them over to his intereſts, he propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought into the houſe of Lords, for preventing occaſional conformity, and be unanimouſly agreed to by all the peers of the Low-church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the eſtabliſhed religion; and that their oppoſitions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and ſafety. Theſe preparations were public enough; and the miniſters had ſufficient time to arm themſelves: but they ſeem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who truſted to the goodneſs of their cauſe, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to thoſe arts which our corruptions have too often made neceſſary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the ſide of the court. I remember to have told my Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Prior*, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five; becauſe, if their adverſaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and ſo it happened to prove; for the miſtake lay in counting upon the bare promiſes of thoſe who were wholly in the intereſt of the old miniſtry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and loſing their ſubſiſtence, wherein the Duke of *Somerſet* had given them full ſatisfaction.

faction. With theſe diſpoſitions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the ſeventh of *December* 1711. The Queen's ſpeech (excepting what related to ſupplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houſes what progreſs ſhe had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion. As ſoon as her Majeſty was withdrawn, the Houſe of Lords, in a committee, reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks; to which the Earl of *Nottingham* propoſed an addition of the following clauſe: "And we do beg leave to re-"preſent it to your Majeſty, as the humble opi-"nion and advice of this houſe, that no peace "can be ſafe or honourable to *Great Britain* or "*Europe*, if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* are to be "allotted to any branch of the houſe of *Bourbon*."

He was ſeconded by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and, after a debate of ſeveral hours, the queſtion for the clauſe was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the houſe agreed with the committee, the depending lords having taken freſh courage from their principals, and ſome who profeſſed themſelves very humble ſervants to the preſent miniſtry, and enemies to the former, went along with the ſtream, pretending not to ſee the conſequences that muſt viſibly follow. The addreſs was preſented on the eleventh; to which her Majeſty's anſwer was very ſhort and dry. She diſtinguiſhed their thanks from the reſt of the piece; and, in return to Lord *Nottingham*'s clauſe, ſaid, She ſhould be ſorry that

any body could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt endeavours to recover *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* from the houſe of *Bourbon*. Upon the fifteenth of *December*, the Earl of *Nottingham* likewiſe brought in the bill to prevent occaſional conformity, (although under a diſguiſed title), which met with no oppoſition, but was ſwallowed by thoſe very lords who always appeared with the utmoſt violence againſt the leaſt advantage to the eſtabliſhed church. But, in the houſe of commons there appeared a very different ſpirit; for, when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a clauſe of the ſame nature with that of the Earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with contempt, by a very great majority. Their addreſs was, in the moſt dutiful manner, approving what her Majeſty had done towards a peace, and truſting entirely to her wiſdom in the future management of it. This addreſs was preſented to the Queen a day before that of the lords, and received an anſwer diſtinguiſhedly gracious: but the other party was noways diſcouraged by either anſwer, which they looked upon as only matter of courſe, and the ſenſe of the miniſtry, contrary to that of the Queen.

The parliament ſat as long as the approaching feſtival would allow; and, upon the twenty-ſecond, the land-tax and occaſional bills having received the royal aſſent, the houſe of commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January* following; but the adjournment of the lords was only to the ſecond, the prevailing party there being in haſte to

to purſue the conſequences of the Earl of *Nottingham*'s clauſe, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treaſurer, and overthrow of the miniſtry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be diſturbed by the commons.

When this addreſs againſt any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the houſe of lords, it is not eaſy to deſcribe the effects it had upon moſt mens paſſions. The partizans of the old miniſtry triumphed loudly, and without any reſerve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of *Wharton* was obſerved in the houſe to ſmile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the miniſtry was ſpeaking; by which he would have it underſtood, that ſome heads were in danger. *Parker*, the chief juſtice, began already, with great zeal and officiouſneſs, to proſecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the adminiſtration. In ſhort, joy and vengeance ſat viſible in every countenance of that party.

On the other ſide, all well-wiſhers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treaſurer ſtood the foremoſt mark, both of his enemies fury, and the cenſure of his friends. Among the latter, ſome imputed this fatal miſcarriage to his procraſtinating nature; others to his unmeaſurable public thrift: both parties agreed, that a firſt miniſter, with very moderate ſkill in affairs, might eaſily have governed the event; and ſome began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired

in other ſtations, were what he juſtly deſerved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monſ. *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parliament ſat, that he was ſorry for what was like to paſs, becauſe the States would be the firſt ſufferers, which he deſired the envoy to remember: and to his neareſt friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themſelves, he only ſaid, that all would be well, and deſired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon theſe motives, that the treaſurer adviſed her majeſty to create twelve new lords, and thereby diſable the ſting of faction for the reſt of her life. This promotion was ſo ordered, that a third part were of thoſe, on whom, or their poſterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the reſt were ſuch, whoſe merit, birth and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverſe party being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did, That it was a pernicious example ſet for ill princes to follow, who, by the ſame rule, might make, at any time, an hundred as well as twelve; and, by theſe means, become maſters of the houſe of lords whenever they pleaſed, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was anſwered, That ill princes ſeldom trouble themſelves to look for precedents; that men of great eſtates will not be leſs fond of preſerving their liberties when they are created peers; that,

that, in ſuch a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office, to remove from one ſcale into the other, or ſometimes put his own weight into the lighteſt, ſo as to bring both to an equilibrium; and, laſtly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from over-ſpreading us. The conformity bill, above-mentioned, was prepared by the Earl of *Nottingham*, before the parliament met, and brought in at the ſame time with the clauſe againſt peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This, he hoped, would not only ſave his credit with the church-party, but bring them over to his politics; ſince they muſt needs be convinced, that, inſtead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greateſt enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion, to be the firſt movers, in a law for the perpetual ſettlement of it. Here it was worth obſerving, with what reſignation the junto lords (as they were then called) were ſubmitted to by their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the diſſenting teachers in town were conſulted upon this affair, and ſuch arguments uſed, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cauſe, than the paſſing this bill. I did, indeed, ſee a letter at that time from one of

them, to a great man *, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were, in general, very well ſatisfied, upon promiſes that this law ſhould be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as ſoon as their friends ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. But nothing ſeemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the Earl of *Nottingham* was ſo far from bringing over proſelytes (wherein his abilities fell very ſhort even of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s) or preſerving the reputation of a firm Churchman, that very few people did ſo much as imagine he had any ſuch deſign: only, when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was ſome wonderful deep reach of politics, which they could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing; and, without troubling themſelves about the perſons or motives from whence it roſe, it had a very ſpeedy paſſage through both houſes.

It muſt be confeſſed; that ſome attempt of this nature was much more neceſſary to the leaders of that party than is generally thought; the deſire of power and revenge was common to them all; but ſeveral among them were alſo conſcious that they ſtood in need of protection, whoſe ſafety was therefore concerned in the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, as well as their ambition. The Duke of *Marlborough* foreſaw thoſe examinations which were afterwards made into ſome parts of his management, and was apprehenſive of a great deal

* It was to the Treaſurer himſelf.

deal more; that the parliament would, perhaps, enquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the *Hague* in 1709; for what ends, and by whoſe advice, the propoſitions of peace from *France* were rejected: beſides, he dreaded, leſt that myſterious policy might be laid open to the world, of deſiring the queen to conſtitute him general for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of too much proof. It is true indeed, that whilſt the Duke's affair was under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwiſe) aſſured the ſpeaker, with a very ſerious countenance, that the world was miſtaken in cenſuring his lord upon this article; for it was the Queen who preſſed the Duke to accept that commiſſion, and, upon his humble refuſal, conceived her firſt diſpleaſure againſt him. How ſuch a defence would have paſſed, if it had been offered in form, is eaſier to be conceived, than how any perſon in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which laſt would, indeed, be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The Earl of *Godolphin* wanted protection, notwithſtanding the act of general pardon which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own ſecurity: he knew that his long neglect of compelling the accountants to paſs their accounts, might be puniſhed as a breach of truſt: he had run the kingdom into immenſe debts, by taking up ſtores for the navy, upon a vaſt

* *Craggs*, father to the Secretary.

vaſt diſcount, without parliamentary ſecurity, for which he could be able to plead neither law nor neceſſity; and he had given way at leaſt to ſome proceedings, not very juſtifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes. The barrier treaty ſat heavy upon the lord *Townſend*'s ſpirits; becauſe, if it ſhould be laid before the houſe of commons, whoever negociated that affair, might be ſubject to the moſt ſevere animadverſion: and the Earl of *Wharton*'s adminiſtration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a ſufficient ground to impeach him, at leaſt for high crimes and miſdemeanours.

The managers in *Holland* were ſufficiently apprized of all this; and Monſ. *Buys*, their miniſter here, took care to cultivate that good correſpondence between his maſters and their *Engliſh* friends, which becomes two confederates purſuing the ſame end. This man had formerly been employed in *England* from that republic, and underſtood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been ſuch, as to furniſh, now and then, a *Latin* quotation, of which he is as liberal as his ſtock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of ſtate for the reſt of the world. His reaſonings upon politics are with great profuſion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire ſatisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior ſort of cunning, which is the growth of his coun-

try,

try, of a ſtandard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the boor to the burgomaſter. He came into *England* with inſtructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her Majeſty and the States; but having firſt adviſed with the confederate lords, he aſſured the miniſtry, he had powers to hear their propoſals, but none to conclude: and, having repreſented to his maſters what had been told him by the adverſe party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the intereſt of thoſe who withſtood the court, would exactly fall in with the deſigns of the States, which were, to carry on the war as long as they could, at our own expence, and to ſee themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were diſpoſed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence. The Emperor, upon many powerful reaſons, was utterly averſe from all councils, which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*: Nay, the Elector of *Hanover* himſelf, although preſumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged, by all ſorts of ties, to cultivate her Majeſty's friendſhip, was ſo far deceived by miſrepreſentations from hence, that he ſeemed to ſuffer Monſ. *Bothmar*, his envoy here, to print and publiſh a memorial in *Engliſh*, directly diſapproving all her majeſty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the ſtyle and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at leaſt digeſted, by ſome

party pen on this ſide of the water. Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preſerve the reſpect even due to foreign princes, do uſually charge the wrong ſteps in a court altogether upon the perſons employed: but I ſhould have taken a ſecurer method, and have been wholly ſilent in this point, if I had not then conceived ſome hope, that his Electoral Highneſs might poſſibly have been a ſtranger to the memorial of his reſident: For, firſt, the manner of delivering it to the ſecretary of ſtate was out of all form, and almoſt as extraordinary as the thing itſelf. Monſieur *Bothmar* having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, talked much to him upon the ſubject of which that memorial conſiſts; and, upon going away, deſired he might leave a paper with the ſecretary, which, he ſaid, contained the ſubſtance of what he had been diſcourſing. This paper Mr. *St. John* laid aſide, among others of little conſequence; and, a few days after, ſaw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the ſame with what *Bothmar* had left.

During this ſhort receſs of parliament, and upon the fifth day of *January*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his ſhip, he aſked a perſon who came to meet him, Whether the *New* Lords were made, and what was their number? He was attended through the ſtreets with a mighty rabble of people, to *St. James's*, where Mr. Secretary *St. John* introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great

great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the proſpect of his journey had as long been formed by the party-leaders here, in concert with Monſ. *Buys*, and Monſ. *Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the Emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain*; part of which, by her Majeſty's commands, Mr. *St. John* ſoon after produced to the houſe of commons, where they were rejected, not without ſome indignation, by a great majority. The Emperor's propoſals, as far as related to *Spain*, were communicated to the houſe in the words following:

"His Imperial Majeſty judges, that 40,000 "men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and that "the whole expence of the war in *Spain* may a- "mount to four millions of crowns, towards "which his Imperial Majeſty offers to make up "the troops, which he has in that country, to "30,000 men, and to take one million of crowns "upon himſelf."

On the other ſide, the houſe of commons voted a third part of theſe four millions as a ſufficient quota for her Majeſty toward that ſervice: for, it was ſuppoſed, the Emperor ought to bear the greateſt proportion in a point that ſo nearly concerned him; or, at leaſt, that *Britain* contributing one-third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majeſty and the States, as they could ſettle it between them.

The deſign of Prince *Eugene*'s journey, was to raiſe

raiſe a ſpirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war: For nothing was thought impoſſible to a Prince of ſuch high reputation in arms, in great favour with the Emperor, and empowered to make ſuch propoſals from his maſter, as the miniſtry durſt not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from Count *Gallas*, (formerly the Emperor's envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleaſed in the Emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raiſe funds, and the war go on, the miniſters here muſt be under a neceſſity of applying and expending thoſe funds; and the Emperor could afterwards find twenty reaſons and excuſes, as he had hitherto done, for not furniſhing his quota. Therefore, Prince *Eugene*, for ſome time, kept himſelf within generals, until being preſſed to explain himſelf upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the houſe of *Auſtria* pretended to have moſt at heart, he made that offer above mentioned, as a moſt extraordinary effort; and ſo it was, conſidering how little they had ever done before, towards the recovering that monarchy to themſelves. But, ſhameful as theſe propoſals were, few believed the Emperor would obſerve them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to ſpare ſo many men as would make up an army of 30,000 men, to be employed in *Spain*.

Prince *Eugene*'s viſit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently, by perſons of quality

quality of both parties; he went frequently to the treaſurer, and ſometimes affected to do it in private; he viſited the other miniſters and great officers of the court, but, on all occaſions, publickly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in ſecret, had continual meetings with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the other diſcontented lords, where M. *Bothmar* uſually aſſiſted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without conſidering the cauſe or conſequence, and to ſee himſelf at the head of an army, where only he can make any conſiderable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, ſometimes charged upon the *Italians*; and, being nurſed in arms, hath ſo far extinguiſhed pity and remorſe, that he will, at any time, ſacrifice a thouſand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treaſurer, as the perſon who principally oppoſed this inſatiable paſſion for war; ſaid he had hopes of others; but that the treaſurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved: therefore, ſince it was impoſſible for him or his friends to compaſs their deſigns, while that miniſter continued at the head of affairs, he propoſed an expedient, often practiſed by thoſe of his country, that the treaſurer (to uſe his own expreſſion) ſhould be taken off, *à la negligence*; that this might eaſily be done, and paſs for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging ſome proper people to commit ſmall riots in the night: and, in ſeveral parts of

the town, a crew of obſcure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commiſſion, and, mixing themſelves with thoſe diſorderly people, that often infeſt the ſtreets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many perſons, whom they cut and mangled in the faces and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation. But an effectual ſtop was ſoon put to thoſe enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main deſign.

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch an imputation ought not to be charged upon any perſon whatſoever, upon ſlight grounds, or doubtful ſurmiſes, and that thoſe who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this paſſage to be fitter for a libel than a hiſtory; but, as the account was given by more than one perſon, who was at the meeting, ſo it was confirmed, paſt all contradiction, by ſeveral intercepted letters and papers: And it is moſt certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent diſappointments, was ſo far inflamed, as to make them capable of ſome counſels yet more violent and deſperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of thoſe near the perſon of her Majeſty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th of *December*, 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his employments, the Duke of *Ormond* ſucceeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court, as far as it related to the

Duke

Duke of *Marlborough*, was much cenſured both at home and abroad, and by ſome who did not wiſh ill to the preſent ſituation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being diſgraced, after an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs for many years againſt a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Thoſe who had leaſt eſteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whoſe troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; becauſe this had infuſed into his ſoldiers an opinion, that they ſhould always conquer, and into the enemy, that they ſhould always be beaten; than which, nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progreſs of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that theſe reaſons had ſufficient weight with the Queen and miniſtry to have kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in his poſt, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any aſſurance of ſafety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their diſpleaſure make uſually much more noiſe than the cauſes: thus, the ſound of the Duke's fall was heard further than many of the reaſons which made it neceſſary, whereof, though ſome were viſible enough, yet others lay more in the dark.

Upon the Duke's laſt return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwiſe) upon the 17th of *November*, called Queen *Elizabeth*'s day, when great num-

bers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the Pope in effigy; for the performance of which, with more ſolemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the ſeveral circumſtances of the expence in this intended pageantry, and of the perſons who promoted it, the court, apprehenſive of a deſign to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the ſeveral figures ſhould be ſeized as popiſh trinkets, and guards were ordered to patrole for preventing any tumultuous aſſemblies. Whether this frolic was only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I muſt leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flouriſhing times, when he came to *England* upon the cloſe of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourſe of the mobile, if they had been diſpoſed to attend him; therefore, ſo very different a proceeding at this juncture, made it ſuſpected as if he had a deſign to have placed himſelf at their head. *France*, popery, the pretender, and no peace without *Spain*, were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and if what was confidently aſſerted be true, that a report was to have been ſpread, at the ſame time, of the Queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purpoſes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of thoſe in power, the Duke's arrival was without any

any noiſe or conſequence; and, upon conſulting with his friends, he ſoon fell in with their new ſcheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many perſons, that the miniſters might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleaſed to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a ſtation of ſuch prodigious profit, ſo there was ſufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is ſeldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and his infirmity very much increaſed by his unmeaſurable poſſeſſions, which have rendered him *ipſique onerique timentem*. But reaſon, as well as the event, proved this to be a miſtake; for the miniſters being determined to bring the war to as ſpeedy an iſſue as the honour and ſafety of their country would permit, could not poſſibly recompenſe the Duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had calculated their numbers; and, by the acceſſion of the Earl of *Nottingham*, whoſe example they hoped would have many followers, and the ſucceſsful ſolicitations of the Duke of *Somerſet*, found they were ſure of a majority in the houſe of lords; ſo that, in this view of circumſtances, the Duke of *Marlborough* thought he acted with ſecurity, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, at the expence of his duty to his ſovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. Whig

and Tory were now no longer the diſpute, but the Queen or the Duke of *Marlborough*: He was at the head of all the cabals and conſults with *Bothmar*, *Buys*, and the diſcontented lords: He forgot that government of his paſſion, for which his admirers uſed to celebrate him, and fell into all the impotencies of anger and violence upon every party debate; ſo that the Queen found herſelf under a neceſſity, either, on the one ſide, to ſacrifice thoſe friends who had ventured their lives in reſcuing her out of the power of ſome, whoſe former treatment ſhe had little reaſon to be fond of, to put an end to the progreſs ſhe had made towards a peace, and diſſolve her parliament; or, on the other ſide, by removing one perſon from ſo great a truſt, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her Majeſty, therefore, determined upon the latter, as the ſhorter and ſafer courſe; and, during the receſs at *Chriſtmas*, ſent the Duke a letter, to tell him ſhe had no farther occaſion for his ſervice.

There hath not, perhaps, in the preſent age, been a clearer inſtance to ſhew the inſtability of all greatneſs, which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an inſtruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular perſon, although ſupported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little reſolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous conſequences. This lord, who was, beyond all compariſon, the greateſt ſubject in Chriſtendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble

crumble away on a ſudden; and, except a few friends or followers by inclination, the reſt dropped off in courſe. From directing, in ſome manner, the affairs of *Europe*, he deſcended to be a member of a faction, and with little diſtinction even there; that virtue of ſubduing his reſentments, for which he was ſo famed when he had little or no occaſion to exert it, having now wholly forſaken him when he ſtood moſt in need of its aſſiſtance, and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverſe of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and diſcontent.

BOOK II.

THE Houſe of Lords met upon the ſecond day of *January*, according to their adjournment; but before they could proceed to buſineſs, the twelve new created peers were, in the uſual form, admitted to their ſeats in that aſſembly, who, by their number, turned the balance on the ſide of the court, and voted an adjournment to the ſame day with the commons. Upon the 14th of *January*, the two houſes met; but the Queen, who intended to be there in perſon, ſent a meſſage to inform them, "That "ſhe was prevented by a ſudden return of the "gout, and to deſire they would adjourn for "three days longer, when her Majeſty hoped ſhe "ſhould be able to ſpeak to them." However, her indiſpoſition ſtill continuing, Mr. Secretary *St. John* brought another meſſage to the houſe of commons

commons from the Queen, containing the ſubſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoken. "That ſhe could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*, and had begun, "in purſuance of her inſtructions, to concert the "moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; "that ſhe promiſed to communicate to them the "conditions of peace before the ſame ſhould be "concluded. That the world would now ſee "how groundleſs theſe reports were, and without the leaſt colour, that a ſeparate peace "had been treated; that her miniſters were directed to propoſe, that a day might be fixed "for the finiſhing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and that, in the "mean time, all preparations were haſtening for "an early campaign," *&c.*

Her Majeſty's endeavours towards this great work, having been in ſuch a forwardneſs, at the time that her meſſage was ſent; I ſhall here, as in the moſt proper place, relate the ſeveral ſteps, by which the intercourſe between the courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

The Marquis *De Torcy*, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian King to the *Hague*, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his maſter's name, which our miniſters, as well as thoſe of the ſtates, thought fit to refuſe, and advanced other propoſals in their ſtead; but of ſuch

ſuch a nature as no prince could digeſt, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, that the *French* King ſhould employ his own troops, in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, to drive his grandſon out of *Spain*. The propoſers knew very well, that the enemy would never conſent to this; and if it were poſſible they could at firſt have any hopes, Monſieur *De Torcy* aſſured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for when the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they deſired that miniſter to aſſiſt them in the ſtyle and expreſſion, which he very readily did, and made uſe of the ſtrongeſt words he could find to pleaſe them. He then inſiſted to know their laſt reſolution, whether theſe were the loweſt terms the allies could accept; and having received a determinate anſwer in the affirmative, he ſpoke to this effect:

"That he thanked them heartily, for giving "him the happieſt day he had ever ſeen in his "life. That, in perfect obedience to his maſter, "he had made conceſſions, in his own opinion, "highly derogatory to the King's honour and in-"tereſt. That he had not concealed the diffi-"culties of his court, or the diſcontents of his "country, by a long and unſucceſsful war, "which could only juſtify the large offers he had "been empowered to make. That the conditions "of peace now delivered into his hands, by the "allies, would raiſe a new ſpirit in the nation,

"and

" and remove the greateſt difficulty the court " lay under, by putting it in his maſter's power " to convince all his ſubjects, how earneſtly his " Majeſty deſired to eaſe them from the burthen " of the war; but that his enemies would not " accept of any terms which could conſiſt either " with their ſafety or his honour." Monſieur *De Torcy* aſſured the penſioner, in the ſtrongeſt manner, and bid him count upon it, " That the " King his maſter would never ſign thoſe articles."

It ſoon appeared, that the Marquis *De Torcy*'s predictions were true; for upon delivering to his maſter the laſt reſolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publiſh them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his ſubjects againſt the unreaſonableneſs and unjuſtneſs of his enemies: which proceeding effectually anſwered the utmoſt he intended by it. For the *French* nation, extremely zealous for their monarch's glory, made univerſal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than ſubmit to ſuch ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promiſed to give the King their conſecrated plate towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be exhauſted wholly of its wealth, yet when driven to a neceſſity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their counſels, recovered ſtrength enough to ſupport itſelf for three following campaigns; and in the laſt, by the fatal blindneſs or obſtinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the aſſiſtance of *Britain*, which they had

had ſhamefully abandoned) was an over-match for the whole confederate army. Thoſe who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumſtance I have now related, and expreſs the zeal of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* miniſters for a peace, by informing us how frequently they ſent after Monſieur *De Torcy*, and Monſieur *Rouille*, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, ſecretary to the Queen's plenipotentiaries, was diſpatched over hither, to have theſe abortive articles ſigned, and ratified by her Majeſty at a venture; which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether abſurd, and without example, contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to ſhew what great things the miniſtry deſigned to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that *France* had refuſed to ſign thoſe articles, all was ſolved by recourſe to the old topic of the *French* perfidiouſneſs; we loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be truſted; the parliament chearfully continued their ſupplies, and the war went on.

The winter following began the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, and the occaſions thereby given to the people to diſcover and exert their diſpoſitions, very oppoſite to the deſigns of thoſe who were then in power. In the ſummer of 1710, enſued a gradual change of the miniſtry; and

and in the beginning of that winter the preſent parliament was called.

The King of *France*, whoſe real intereſts made him ſincerely deſirous of any tolerable peace, found it impoſſible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged againſt him, becauſe of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly againſt the general diſpoſitions of the people, in either, as well as againſt their ſeveral maxims of government: but, upon the great turn of affairs and counſels here in *England*, the new parliament and miniſters acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might ariſe, of reſuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England*, a *French* eccleſiaſtic, called the Abbé *Gualtier*, who had reſided ſeveral years in *London*, under the protection of ſome foreign miniſters, in whoſe families he uſed, upon occaſion, to exerciſe his function of a prieſt. After the battle of *Blenheim*, this gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where ſeveral *French* priſoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered thoſe offices of civility ſuitable to perſons in their condition, which, upon their return to *France*, they reported to his advantage. Among the reſt, the Chevalier *de Croiſſy* told his brother, the Marquis *de Torcy*, that whenever the *French* court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with *England*, Monſieur *Gualtier*

tier might be very uſefully employed in handing them to the miniſters here. This was no farther thought on at preſent; in the meantime, the war went on, and the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miſcarried, by the allies inſiſting upon ſuch demands as they neither expected, nor, perhaps, deſired ſhould be granted. Some time in *July* 1710, Monſieur *Gualtier* received a letter from the Marquis *de Torcy*, ſignifying, that a report being ſpread, of her Majeſty's intentions to change her miniſtry, to take Mr. *Harley* into her councils, and to diſſolve her parliament; the Moſt Chriſtian King thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture, to offer new propoſals of a treaty: Monſieur *Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himſelf in the Marquis's name, either to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, the Earl of *Jerſey*, or Mr. *Harley*, and inform the *French* court, how ſuch a propoſition would be reliſhed. *Gualtier* choſe to deliver his meſſage to the ſecond of thoſe, who had been ambaſſador from the late king to *France*; but the Earl excuſed himſelf from entering into particulars with a ſtranger, and a private perſon, who had no authority for what he ſaid, more than a letter from Monſieur *de Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that miniſter, to the Earl himſelf; and did ſo in a month after; but obtained no anſwer till *December* following, when the Queen had made all neceſſary changes, and ſummoned a free parliament to her wiſhes. About the beginning of *January*, the Abbé (after having procured

his diſmiſſion from Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was ſent to *Paris*, to inform Monſieur *de Torcy*, that her Majeſty would be willing his maſter ſhould reſume the treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands of *England* might previouſly be granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a ſhort ſtay, with a return to his meſſage, "That the *Dutch* had uſed the "Moſt Chriſtian King and his miniſters, in ſuch "a manner both at the *Hague* and *Gertruyden-* "*berg*, as made that prince reſolve not to expoſe "himſelf any more to the like treatment; that "he therefore choſe to addreſs himſelf to *Eng-* "*land*, and was ready to make whatever offers "her Majeſty could reaſonably expect, for the "advantage of her own kingdoms, and the ſatiſ- "faction of her Allies."

After the meſſage had been duly conſidered by the Queen and her miniſters, Monſieur *Gualtier* was diſpatched a ſecond time to *France*, about the beginning of *March* 1710, with an anſwer to the following purpoſe: "That ſince *France* had "their particular reaſons for not beginning again "to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to "remove that difficulty, and propoſed it ſhould "be done in this manner; that *France* ſhould "ſend over hither the propoſitions for a treaty, "which ſhould be tranſmitted by *England* to "*Holland*, to be jointly treated on that ſide of "the water. But it was to be underſtood, that "the ſame propoſition formerly offered to *Hol-* "*land*, was to be made to *England*, or one not

"leſs

"leſs advantageous to the Allies; for though "*England* would enter moſt ſincerely into ſuch "a treaty, and ſhew, in the courſe of it, the clear- "neſs of her intentions; yet they could not, "with honour, entertain a leſs beneficial propo- "ſal than what was offered to the States." That prince, as well as his miniſter, Monſieur *de Torcy*, either felt, or affected ſo much reſentment of the uſage the latter had met with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared to be fully determined againſt making any application to the States, where the ſame perſons continued ſtill in power, of whoſe treatment they ſo heavily complained. They ſeemed altogether to diſtruſt the inclination of that republic towards a peace; but, at the ſame time, ſhewed a mighty complaiſance to the *Engliſh* nation, and a deſire to have her Majeſty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the firſt overtures in form, ſent from that kingdom, and ſigned by Monſieur *de Torcy*, on the twenty-ſecond of *April* 1711, new ſtyle, to the following effect:

"That as it could not be doubted, but the "king was in a condition of continuing the war "with honour, ſo it could not be looked on as a "mark of weakneſs in his Majeſty, to break the "ſilence he had kept ſince the conferences at "*Gertruydenberg*; and that, before the opening of "the campaign, he now gives farther proof of "the deſire he always had, to procure the repoſe "of *Europe*. But after what he hath found, by "experience, of the ſentiments of thoſe perſons

" who now governed the republic of *Holland*,
" and of their induſtry in rendering all negocia-
" tions without effect, his Majeſty will, for the
" public good, offer to the *Engliſh* nation thoſe
" propoſitions, which he thinks fit to make, for
" terminating the war, and for ſettling the tran-
" quillity of *Europe* upon a ſolid foundation. It
" is with this view, that he offers to enter into a
" treaty of peace, founded on the following con-
" ditions:

" *Firſt*, The *Engliſh* nation ſhall have real ſecu-
" rities for carrying on their trade in *Spain*, the
" *Indies*, and ports of the *Mediterranean*.

" *Secondly*, The king will conſent to form a
" ſufficient barrier in the Low-countries, for the
" ſecurity of the republic of *Holland*; and this
" barrier ſhall be ſuch as *England* ſhall agree up-
" on, and approve; his Majeſty promiſing, at the
" ſame time, an entire liberty and ſecurity to the
" trade of the *Dutch*.

" *Thirdly*, All reaſonable methods ſhall be
" thought on, with ſincerity and truth, for giv-
" ing ſatisfaction to the Allies of *England* and
" *Holland*.

" *Fourthly*, Whereas the affairs of the king of
" *Spain* are in ſo good condition, as to furniſh
" new expedients for putting an end to the diſ-
" putes about that monarchy, and for ſettling it
" to the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties con-
" cerned, all ſincere endeavours ſhall be uſed,
" for ſurmounting the difficulties ariſen upon
" this occaſion; and the trade and intereſt of all
" parties,

"parties engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be "ſecured.

"*Fifthly*, The conferences, in order to treat "of a peace upon theſe conditions, ſhall imme- "diately be opened, and the plenipotentiaries "whom the king ſhall name to aſſiſt thereat, ſhall "treat with thoſe of *England* and *Holland*, either "alone, or in conjunction with thoſe of their "Allies, as *England* ſhall chooſe.

"*Sixthly*, His Majeſty propoſes the towns of "*Aix la Chapelle*, or *Liege*, for the place where "the plenipotentiaries ſhall aſſemble, leaving "the choice likewiſe to *England*, of either of "the ſaid towns, wherein to treat of a general "peace."

Their overtures, although expreſſing much confidence in the miniſtry here, the great deference to the Queen, and diſpleaſure againſt the *Dutch*, were immediately tranſmitted, by her Majeſty's commands, to her ambaſſador in *Holland*, with orders, that they ſhould be communicated to the penſionary. The Abbé *Gualtier* was deſired to ſignify this proceeding to the Marquis *de Torcy*; and, at the ſame time, to let that miniſter underſtand, that ſome of the above articles ought to be explained. The Lord *Raby*, now Earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the penſionary, "That "her Majeſty being reſolved, in making peace as "in making war, to act in perfect concert with "the States, would not loſe a moment in tranſ- "mitting to him a paper of this importance. "That the Queen earneſtly deſired, the ſecret

"might be kept among as few as poſſible; and "that ſhe hoped the penſionary would adviſe, "upon this occaſion, with no perſon whatſoever, "except ſuch as by the conſtitution of that go- "vernment are unavoidably neceſſary; that the "terms of the ſeveral propoſitions were, indeed, "too general, but, however, they contained an "offer to treat; and that, although there appeared "an air of complaiſance to *England*, through the "whole paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet "this could have no ill conſequence, as long as "the Queen and the States took care to under- "ſtand each other, and to act with as little re- "ſerve as became two powers ſo nearly allied in "intereſt; which rule ſhould, on the part of *Bri- "tain*, be inviolable." It was likewiſe ſignified to the penſionary, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had no communication of this affair from *Eng- land*, and that it was ſuppoſed he would have none from the *Hague*. After theſe propoſals had been conſidered in *Holland*, the ambaſſador was directed to ſend back the opinion of the *Dutch* miniſters upon them. The court here was, in- deed, apprehenſive, that the penſionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monſieur *de Tor- cy's* paper, and particularly at thoſe expreſſions, that the *Engliſh* ſhall have real ſecurities for their trade, *&c.* and that the barrier for the States- general, ſhall be ſuch as *England* ſhall agree up- on, and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive, of our obtaining advantageous terms for *Britain*, might

put

put them upon trying underhand for themſelves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambaſſador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful, in diſcovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the Lord *Raby* was firſt ſent to the *Hague*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townſend* had, for very obvious reaſons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could. Upon which, and other accounts, needleſs to mention, it was thought proper, that his Grace, then in *Flanders*, ſhould not be let into the ſecret of this affair.

The *French* propoſal of *Aix* or *Liege*, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old diſcontent againſt *Holland*, to ſhew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The penſionary having conſulted thoſe who had been formerly employed in the negociations of peace, and enjoined them the utmoſt ſecrecy, to avoid the jealouſy of the foreign miniſters there, deſired the ambaſſador to return her Majeſty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence ſhe placed in the States, and for her promiſe of making no ſtep towards a peace, but in concert with them; aſſuring her of the like on their part: that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily deſirous of a good and

laſting,

laſting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her Majeſty ſhould think proper to obtain it: that the States looked upon theſe propoſitions as very dark and general; and they obſerved how the enemy would create jealouſies between the Queen, their republic, and the other Allies; but they were ſatisfied, it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the juſtice and prudence of her Majeſty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themſelves, particularly in the ſeveral points of their propoſals, and ſend a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace; after which the States would be ready, either to join with her Majeſty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting ſo good a work.

This is the ſum of the verbal anſwer made by the penſionary, upon communicating to him the *French* propoſals; and I have choſen to ſet it down, rather than tranſcribe the other given to the ambaſſador ſome days after, which was more in form, and to the ſame purpoſe, but ſhorter, and in my opinion, not ſo well diſcovering the true diſpoſition of the *Dutch* miniſters.

For, after the Queen had tranſmitted the *French* overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her Majeſty was bent, in earneſt, upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to caſt about how to get the negociation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the firſt propoſals, would be wiſe enough to ſtipulate ſomething for themſelves,

themſelves, as they had done in their own caſe, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, where they carved as they pleaſed, without any regard to the intereſt of their nearer allies. For this reaſon, while they endeavoured to amuſe the *Britiſh* court, with expoſtulations upon the ſeveral preliminaries ſent from *France*, Monſieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling agent of *Holſtein*, who had reſided ſome years in *Holland*, negociated with *Hienſius*, the grand penſionary, as well as with *Vanderduſſen* and *Buys*, about reſtoring the conferences between *France* and that republic, broke off in *Gertruydenberg*; purſuant to which, about the end of *May*, N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the Marquis *de Torcy*, with the privity of the penſionary, and probably of the other two. The ſubſtance of his letter, was to inform the Marquis, "That things might eaſily be diſpoſed, ſo "as to ſettle a correſpondence between that "crown and the republic, in order to renew the "treaty of peace; that this could be done with "the greater ſecrecy, becauſe Monſieur *Hienſius*, "by virtue of his oath as penſionary, might keep "any affair private, as long as he thought neceſ- "ſary, and was not obliged to communicate it, "until he believed things were ripe; and as long "as he concealed it from his maſters, he was not "bound to diſcover it, either to the miniſters of "the Emperor, or thoſe of her *Britiſh* Majeſty; "that ſince *England* thought it proper for king "*Charles* to continue the whole campaign in *Ca-* "*talonia*, (though he ſhould be choſen Emperor) "in.

" in order to ſupport the war in *Spain*, it was
" neceſſary for *France* to treat in the moſt ſecret
" manner with the States, who were not now ſo
" violent, as formerly, againſt having *Philip* on
" the *Spaniſh* throne, upon certain conditions for
" ſecuring their trade, but were jealous of *Eng-*
" *land*'s deſign to fortify ſome trading towns in
" *Spain* for themſelves; that *Hienſius* extremely
" deſired to get out of the war, for ſome reaſons,
" which he (*Petecum*) was not permitted to tell;
" and that *Vanderduſſen* and *Buys* were impatient
" to have the negociations with *France* once
" more ſet on foot; which, if M. *de Torcy* thought
" fit to conſent to, *Petecum* engaged, that the
" States would determine to ſettle the prelimi-
" naries in the mid-way between *Paris* and the
" *Hague*, with whatever miniſters the moſt Chri-
" ſtian king ſhould pleaſe to employ." But Mon-
ſieur *Torcy* refuſed this overture; and, in his an-
ſwer to Monſieur *Petecum*, aſſigned for the reaſon,
the treatment his maſter's former propoſals had met
with at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the
miniſters of *Holland*.

Britain and *Holland* ſeemed pretty well agreed,
that thoſe propoſals were too looſe and imperfect,
to be a foundation for entering upon a general
treaty, and Monſieur *Gualtier* was deſired to ſig-
nify to the *French* court, that it was expected
they ſhould explain themſelves more particularly
on the ſeveral articles.

But, in the mean time, the Queen was firmly
reſolved, that the intereſts of her own kingdom
ſhould

ſhould not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal managers of a negotiation with *France*. Her Majeſty had given early and frequent notice to the States, of the general diſpoſition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the diſadvantage of unequal quotas, and the univerſal backwardneſs of her Allies. She had likeways informed them of ſeveral advances made to her on the ſide of *France*, which ſhe had refuſed to hearken to, till ſhe had conſulted with thoſe her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that ſubject. But the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to ſee *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and ſullen, diſliked all propoſals by the Queen's intervention, and ſaid, it was a piece of artifice of *France*, to divide the Allies. Beſides, they knew the miniſtry was young; and the oppoſite faction had given them aſſurances, that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the reſolutions of one houſe of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midſt of this unwillingneſs to receive any overtures from *France* by the Queen's hands, the *Dutch* miniſters were actually engaged in a correſpondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reaſon of thoſe factions, which themſelves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much eaſier terms than what they ſuppoſed we demanded:

demanded: For, not to mention the Duke of *Lorrain*'s interpoſition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* abſolutely refuſed to accept, the letters ſent from the *Dutch* to that court, were ſhewn ſome months after to a *Britiſh* miniſter there; which gave much weight to Monſ. *Torcy*'s inſinuations, that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the neceſſity of affairs ſhould force him to it, by our refuſal; and the violence of the States againſt our entertaining of that correſpondence, was only becauſe they knew theirs would never be accepted, at leaſt till ours were thrown off.

The Queen, ſenſible of all this, reſolved to provide for her own kingdoms: and having, therefore, prepared ſuch demands for her principal Allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts, ſhe reſolved to ſtipulate, in a particular manner, the advantage of *Britain*. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be tranſmitted to *France*.

" *Great-Britain* will not enter into any nego-
" tiation of peace, otherways than upon theſe
" conditions obtained before-hand.

" That the union of the crowns of *France* and
" *Spain* ſhall be prevented; that ſatisfaction ſhall
" be given to all the Allies, and trade ſettled and
" maintained.

" If *France* be diſpoſed to treat upon this view,
" it is not to be doubted, that the following pro-
" poſitions will be found reaſonable.

" A Bar-

" A Barrier ſhall be formed in the *Low-Coun-*
" *tries*, for the States-General; and their trade
" ſhall be ſecured.

" A Barrier likeways ſhall be formed for the
" Empire.

" The pretenſions of all the Allies, founded
" upon former treaties, ſhall be regulated and de-
" termined to their general ſatisfaction.

" In order to make a more equal balance of
" power in *Italy*, the domains and territories,
" which, in the beginning of the preſent war, be-
" longed to the Duke of *Savoy*, and are now in
" the poſſeſſion of *France*, ſhall be reſtored to
" his Royal Highneſs; and ſuch other places in
" *Italy* ſhall be yielded to him, as will be found
" neceſſary, and agreeable to the ſenſe of former
" treaties made with that Prince.

" As to *Great-Britain* in particular, the ſucceſ-
" ſion to the crown of the kingdoms, according
" to the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhall be acknow-
" ledged.

" A new treaty of commerce between *Great-*
" *Britain* and *France* ſhall be made, after the
" moſt juſt and reaſonable manner. *Dunkirk*
" ſhall be demoliſhed; *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*
" ſhall remain in the hands of the preſent poſſeſ-
" ſors.

" The *Engliſh* ſhall have the Aſſiento in the
" ſame manner the *French* now enjoy it; and
" ſuch places in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* ſhall be
" aſſigned to thoſe concerned in this traffic, for

" the refreſhment and ſale of their Negroes, as " ſhall be found neceſſary and convenient.

" All advantages, rights and privileges, already " granted, or which may hereafter be granted by " *Spain* to the ſubjects of *France*, or to any other " nation whatſoever, ſhall be equally granted to " the ſubjects of *Great-Britain*.

" And, for better ſecuring the *Britiſh* trade in " the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, certain places, to be " named in the treaty of peace, ſhall be put into " the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.

" *Newfoundland*, with the bay and ſtreights of " *Hudſon*, ſhall be entirely reſtored to the *Eng-* " *liſh*; and *Great-Britain* and *France* ſhall ſe- " verally keep and poſſeſs all thoſe countries and " territories in *North America*, which each of the " ſaid nations ſhall be in poſſeſſion of at the time " when the ratification of this treaty ſhall be pub- " liſhed in thoſe parts of the world.

" Theſe demands, and all other proceedings " between *Great-Britain* and *France*, ſhall be " kept inviolably ſecret, until they are publiſhed " by the mutual conſent of both parties."

This laſt article was not only intended for avoiding, if poſſible, the jealouſy of the *Dutch*, but to prevent the clamour of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fear of our doing injuſtice to the States, by acting without the privity of that republic, in order to make a ſeparate peace, would be ready to drive on the worſt deſigns againſt the Queen and miniſtry, in order to recover the power they had loſt.

In

In *June* 1711, Mr. *Prior*, a perſon of great diſtinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was diſpatched thither by her Majeſty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at *Verſailles* with great civility. The King declared, that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty, would be ſo agreeable to him, as by the intervention of *England*; and that his Majeſty, being deſirous to contribute with all his power towards the repoſe of *Europe*, did anſwer to the demands which had been made, "That he would "conſent freely and ſincerely to all juſt and rea-"ſonable methods for hindering the crowns of "*France* and *Spain* from ever being united under "the ſame Prince; his Majeſty being perſuaded, "that ſuch an exceſs of power would be as con-"trary to the general good and repoſe of *Europe*, "as it was oppoſite to the will of the late Catho-"lic King *Charles* the Second. He ſaid, his in-"tention was, that all parties in the preſent war "ſhould find their reaſonable ſatisfaction in the "intended treaty of peace; and that trade ſhould "be ſettled and maintained for the future, to the "advantage of thoſe nations which formerly poſ-"ſeſſed it.

"That, as the King will exactly obſerve the "conditions of peace, whenever it ſhall be con-"cluded, and as the object he propoſeth to him-"ſelf, is, to ſecure the frontiers of his own king-"dom, without giving any ſort of diſturbance to

" his neighbours, he promiſeth to agree, that, by " the future treaty of peace, the *Dutch* ſhall be " put into poſſeſſion of all fortified places, as ſhall " be ſpecified in the ſaid treaty, to ſerve for a " barrier to that republic againſt all attempts on " the ſide of *France:* He engages likeways to " give all neceſſary ſecurities for removing the " jealouſies raiſed among the *German* princes, of " his Majeſty's deſigns.

" That when the conferences, in order to a " general treaty, ſhall be formed, all the preten- " ſions of the ſeveral princes and States, engaged " in the preſent war, ſhall be fairly and amicably " diſcuſſed; nor ſhall any thing be omitted, " which may regulate and determine them, to " the ſatisfaction of all parties."

" That, purſuant to the demands made by " *England*, his Majeſty promiſes to reſtore to the " Duke of *Savoy* thoſe demeſnes and territories " which belonged to that Prince at the begin- " ning of this war, and which his Majeſty is now " in poſſeſſion of. And the King conſents fur- " ther, that ſuch other places in *Italy* ſhall be " yielded to the Duke of *Savoy* as ſhall be found " neceſſary, according to the ſenſe of thoſe trea- " ties made between the ſaid Duke and his Allies.

" That the King's ſentiments of the preſent go- " vernment of *Great-Britain*, the open declara- " tion he made in *Holland*, of his reſolution to " treat of peace by applications to the *Engliſh*, " the aſſurances he had given of engaging the " King of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in our hands,

" (all

" (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect
" eſteem for a nation ſtill in war with him) leave
" no room to doubt of his Majeſty's inclination
" to give *England* all ſecurities and advantages
" for their trade, which they can reaſonably de-
" mand. But, as his Majeſty cannot perſuade
" himſelf, that a government ſo clear-ſighted as
" ours, will inſiſt upon conditions, which muſt
" abſolutely deſtroy the trade of *France* and *Spain*,
" as well as that of all other nations of *Europe*,
" he thinks the demands made by *Great-Britain*
" may require a more particular diſcuſſion.

" That, upon this foundation, the King
" thought the beſt way of advancing and per-
" fecting a negotiation, the beginning of which
" he had ſeen with ſo much ſatisfaction, would
" be, to ſend into *England* a perſon inſtructed in
" his intention, and authorized by him to agree
" upon ſecurities for ſettling the trade of the
" ſubjects of *England*, and thoſe particular ad-
" vantages to be ſtipulated in their favour, with-
" out deſtroying the trade of the *French* and *Spa-*
" *niards*, or of other nations in Chriſtendom.

" That therefore, his Majeſty had charged the
" perſon choſen for this commiſſion, to anſwer
" the other articles of the memorial given him
" by Mr. *Prior*; the ſecret of which, ſhould be
" exactly obſerved."

Monſieur *de Torcy* had, for ſome years paſt, uſed all his endeavours to incline his maſter towards a peace, purſuant to the maxim of his uncle *Colbert*, That a long war was not for the in-

tereſt of *France*. It was for this reaſon, the King made choice of him in the conferences at the *Hague*; the bad ſucceſs whereof, although it filled him with reſentments againſt the *Dutch*, did not alter his opinion. But he was violently oppoſed by a party, both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would ſacrifice the glory of the Prince and country, by too large conceſſions; or, perhaps, would rather wiſh, that the firſt offers ſhould have been ſtill made to the *Dutch*, as a people more likely to be leſs ſolicitous about the intereſt of *Britain*, than her Majeſty would certainly be for theirs: and the particular deſign of Mr. *Prior*'s journey was, to find out, whether that miniſter had credit enough with his Prince, and a ſupport from others in power, ſufficient to over-rule the faction againſt peace.

Mr. *Prior*'s journey could not be kept a ſecret, as the court here at firſt ſeemed to intend it. He was diſcovered at his return, by an officer of the port at *Dover*, where he landed, after ſix weeks abſence; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *Engliſh* news-papers were full of ſpeculations.

At the ſame time with Mr. *Prior*, there arrived from *France* Monſieur *Meſnager*, knight of the order of *St. Michael*, and one of the council of trade to the Moſt Chriſtian King. His commiſſion was, in general, empowering him to treat with the miniſter of any prince engaged in the war againſt his maſter. In his firſt conferences with the Queen's miniſters, he pretended orders

to

to inſiſt, that her Majeſty ſhould enter into particular engagements in ſeveral articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the intereſt of the Allies, reciprocally with thoſe of the Moſt Chriſtian King: whereas, the negotiation had begun upon this principle, that *France* ſhould conſent to adjuſt the intereſts of *Great-Britain* in the firſt place; whereby her Majeſty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all ſides, to facilitate the general peace. The Queen reſolved never to depart from this principle; but was abſolutely determined to remit the particular intereſts of the Allies to general conferences, where ſhe would do the utmoſt in her power to procure the repoſe of *Europe*, and the ſatisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, becauſe the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was ſigned. Therefore, it was not doubted, but Monſieur *Meſnager* would have orders to wave this new pretenſion, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at firſt propoſed. In ſhort, the miniſters required a poſitive and ſpeedy anſwer to the articles in queſtion, ſince they contained only ſuch advantages and ſecurities as her Majeſty thought ſhe had a right to require from any Prince whatſoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* ſhould happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; which Monſieur *Meſnager*, having tranſmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders

to

to give his maſter's conſent, by way of anſwers to the ſeveral points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. Theſe demands, together with the anſwers of the *French* King, were drawn up and ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager* and her Majeſty's two principal ſecretaries of ſtate; whereof I ſhall here preſent an extract to the reader.

In the preamble, the Moſt Chriſtian King ſets forth, "That being particularly informed, by "the laſt memorial which the *Britiſh* miniſters "delivered to Monſieur *Meſnager*, of the diſpoſi- "tions of this crown to facilitate a general peace, "to the ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties con- "cerned; and his Majeſty finding, in effect, as "the ſaid memorial declares, that he runs no "hazard by engaging himſelf in the manner "there expreſſed, ſince the preliminary articles "will be of no force, until the ſigning of the ge- "neral peace; and being ſincerely deſirous to "advance, to the utmoſt of his power, the re- "poſe of *Europe*, eſpecially by a way ſo agreeable "as the interpoſition of a Princeſs, whom ſo ma- "ny ties of blood ought to unite to him, and "whoſe ſentiments for the public tranquillity "cannot be doubted; his Majeſty, moved by "theſe conſiderations, hath ordered Monſieur "*Meſnager*, Knight, *&c.* to give the following "anſwers, in writing, to the articles contained in "the memorial tranſmitted to him, entitled, *Pre-* "*liminary demands for* Great-Britain *in particular.*"

The articles were theſe that follow.

"*Firſt*, The ſucceſſion to the crown to be ac- "knowledged,

" knowledged, according to the preſent eſtabliſh-
" ment.

" *Secondly*, A new treaty of commerce be-
" tween *Great-Britain* and *France*, to be made
" after the moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.

" *Thirdly*, *Dunkirk* to be demoliſhed.

" *Fourthly*, *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon* to con-
" tinue in the hands of thoſe who now poſſeſs
" them.

" *Fifthly*, The Aſſiento (or liberty of ſelling
" Negroes to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*) to be grant-
" ed to the *Engliſh*, in as full a manner as the
" *French* poſſeſs it at preſent; and ſuch places in
" the ſaid *Weſt-Indies* to be aſſigned to the per-
" ſons concerned in this trade, for the refreſh-
" ment and ſale of their Negroes, as ſhall be
" found neceſſary and convenient.

" *Sixthly*, Whatever advantages, privileges,
" and rights, are already, or may hereafter be
" granted, by *Spain* to the ſubjects of *France*, or
" any other nation, ſhall be equally granted to
" the ſubjects of *Great-Britain*.

" *Seventhly*, For better protecting their trade
" in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, the *Engliſh* ſhall be
" put into poſſeſſion of ſuch places as ſhall be
" named in the treaty of peace.

" Or, as an equivalent for this article, that
" the Aſſiento be granted to *Britain*, for the term
" of thirty years. That the iſle of *St. Chriſtopher's*
" be likewiſe ſecured to the *Engliſh*.

" That the advantages and exemption from
" duties, promiſed by Monſieur *Meſnager*, which,
" he

" he affirms, will amount to fifteen *per cent.* up-
" on all goods of the growth and manufacture of
" *Great-Britain*, be effectually allowed.

" That whereas on the ſide of the river of
" *Plate*, the *Engliſh* are not in poſſeſſion of any
" colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed
" them on the ſaid river, for refreſhing and keep-
" ing their Negroes, till they are ſold to the *Spa-*
" *niards*; ſubject, nevertheleſs, to the inſpection
" of an officer appointed by *Spain*.

" *Eighthly*, *Newfoundland*, and the bay and
" ſtreights of *Hudſon*, ſhall be entirely reſtored to
" the *Engliſh*; and *Great-Britain* and *France*
" ſhall reſpectively keep whatever dominions in
" *North America* each of them ſhall be in poſ-
" ſeſſion of, when the ratification of this treaty
" ſhall be publiſhed in thoſe parts of the world."

The ſix firſt articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be ſettled in a general treaty: a difficulty ariſing upon the ſeventh article, the propoſed equivalent was allowed inſtead thereof.

The laſt article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the *French* were to have the power of fiſhing for cod, and drying them on the iſland of *Newfoundland*.

Theſe articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the Moſt Chriſtian King conſented to allow; and, whenever a general peace ſhould be ſigned, they were to be digeſted into the uſual form.

form of a treaty, to the ſatisfaction of both crowns.

The Queen having thus provided for the ſecurity and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace ſhould be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the intereſt of her allies, the next thing in order was, to procure from *France* ſuch preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. Theſe were adjuſted, and ſigned the ſame day with the former; and, having been delivered to the ſeveral miniſters reſiding here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made public; but the various conſtructions and cenſures which paſſed upon them, have made it neceſſary to give the reader the following tranſcript:

"The King being willing to contribute all that "is in his power to the re-eſtabliſhing of the gene-"ral peace, his Majeſty declares,

"I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of "*Great Britain*, in that quality; as alſo the ſuc-"ceſſion of that crown, according to the preſent "ſettlement.

"II. That he will freely, and *bona fide*, conſent "to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures "for hindering that the crowns of *France* and "*Spain* may ever be united on the head of the "ſame Prince; his Majeſty being perſuaded that "this exceſs of power would be contrary to the "good and quiet of *Europe*.

"III. The King's intention is, that all the par-

"ties

" ties engaged in the preſent war, without except-
" ing any of them, may find their reaſonable ſa-
" tisfaction in the treaty of peace which ſhall be
" made: That commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed
" and maintained for the future, to the advantage
" of *Great-Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other
" nations who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe
" commerce.

" IV. As the King will likewiſe maintain ex-
" actly the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall
" be concluded; and the object the King pro-
" poſes to himſelf being to ſecure the frontiers of
" his kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner
" whatever the neighbouring ſtates, he promiſes
" to agree, by the treaty which ſhall be made,
" that the *Dutch* ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of
" the fortified places which ſhall be mentioned in
" the *Netherlands*, to ſerve hereafter for a barrier;
" which may ſecure the quiet of the republic of
" *Holland* againſt any enterprize from the part
" of *France*.

" V. The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure
" and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the
" Empire, and for the houſe of *Auſtria*.

" VI. Notwithſtanding *Dunkirk* coſt the King
" very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to fortify
" it; and that it is farther neceſſary to be at very
" conſiderable expence for razing the works; his
" Majeſty is willing however to engage to cauſe
" them to be demoliſhed, immediately after the
" concluſion of the peace; on condition, that,
" for the fortifications of that place, a proper e-
" quivalent,

"quivalent, that may content him, be given him:
" And, as *England* cannot furniſh that equivalent,
" the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the confe-
" rences to be held for the negociation of the peace.

" VII. When the conferences for the negocia-
" tion of the peace ſhall be formed, all the pre-
" tenſions of the princes and ſtates, engaged in
" the preſent war, ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bona*
" *fide*, and amicably; and nothing ſhall be omit-
" ted, to regulate and terminate them, to the ſa-
" tisfaction of all the parties.

MESNAGER."

Theſe overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions, without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point propoſed in that article, which thoſe who cenſured them at home, if they ſpoke their thoughts, did not underſtand: for nothing can be plainer than what the public hath often been told, that the recovery of *Spain* from the houſe of *Bourbon*, was a thing never imagined when the war began, but a juſt and and reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Emperor; much leſs ought ſuch a condition to be held neceſſary at preſent; not only becauſe it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewiſe becauſe, by the changes in the *Auſtrian* and *Bourbon* families, it would not be ſafe; neither did thoſe, who were loudeſt in blaming the *French* preliminaries, know any thing of the

advantages privately ſtipulated for *Britain*, w
intereſts, they aſſured us, were all made a ſacr
to the corruption or folly of the managers:
and therefore, becauſe the oppoſers of peace
been better informed by what they have
heard and ſeen, they have changed their bat
and accuſed the miniſters for betraying the *D*

The Lord *Raby*, her Majeſty's ambaſſadc
the *Hague*, having made a ſhort journey to
land, where he was created Earl of *Strafford*,
back to *Holland*, about the beginning of *O*
1711, with the above preliminaries, in ord
communicate them to the penſionary and
miniſters of the States. The Earl was inſtruct
let them know, "That the Queen had, acco
"to their deſire, returned an anſwer to the
"propoſitions ſigned by Monſieur *Torcy*, ſig
"ing, that the *French* offers were thought,
"by her Majeſty and the States, neither ſo
"cular nor ſo full as they ought to be, and
"ing to have a diſtinct project formed of ſu
"peace, as the moſt Chriſtian King would be
"ling to conclude: that this affair having be
"ſome time tranſacted by papers, and thereby
"ject to delays, Monſieur *Meſnager* was at l
"ſent over by *France*, and had ſigned thoſe
"liminaries now communicated to them: th
"ſeveral articles did not indeed contain
"particular conceſſions as *France* muſt an
"make in the courſe of a treaty; but that,
"ever, her Majeſty thought them a ſuffi

"found

" foundation whereon to open the general con-
" ferences.

" That her Majeſty was unwilling to be charged
" with determining the ſeveral intereſts of her
" Allies, and therefore contented herſelf with ſuch
" general offers as might include all the particular
" demands proper to be made during the treaty,
" where the confederates muſt reſolve to adhere
" firmly together, in order to obtain from the
" enemy the utmoſt that could be hoped for in
" the preſent circumſtances of affairs; which
" rule, her Majeſty aſſured the States, ſhe would
" on her part firmly obſerve."

If the miniſters of *Holland* ſhould expreſs any uneaſineſs, that her Majeſty may have ſettled the intereſts of her own kingdoms in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambaſſador was ordered to ſay, " That the Queen had hitherto re-
" fuſed to have the treaty carried on in her own
" kingdom, and would continue to do ſo, unleſs
" they (the *Dutch*) conſtrained her to take ano-
" ther meaſure: that, by theſe means, the States,
" and the reſt of the Allies, would have the op-
" portunity of treating and adjuſting their diffe-
" rent pretenſions, which her Majeſty would pro-
" mote, with all the zeal ſhe had ſhewn for the
" common good, and the particular advantage of
" that republic (as they muſt do her the juſtice to
" confeſs) in the whole courſe of her reign: that
" the Queen had made no ſtipulation for herſelf,
" which might claſh with the intereſts of *Holland*;
" and that the articles to be inſerted in a future

"treaty, for the benefit of *Britain*, were for the "moſt part ſuch as contained advantages, which "muſt either be continued to the enemy, or be "obtained by her Majeſty; but however, that no "conceſſion ſhould tempt her to hearken to a "peace, unleſs her good friends and allies the "States General, had all reaſonable ſatisfaction "as to their trade and barrier, as well as in all "other reſpects."

After theſe aſſurances given in the Queen's name, the Earl was to inſinuate, "That her Ma-"jeſty ſhould have juſt reaſon to be offended, and "to think the proceeding between her and the "States very unequal, if they ſhould pretend to "have any further uneaſineſs upon this head; "that being determined to accept no advantages "to herſelf, repugnant to their intereſts, nor any "peace without their reaſonable ſatisfaction, the "figure ſhe had made during the whole courſe of "the war, and the part ſhe had acted ſuperior to "any of the Allies, who were more concerned in "danger and intereſt, might juſtly entitle her to "ſettle the concerns of *Great-Britain* before ſhe "would conſent to a general negociation."

If the States ſhould object the engagements the Queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the barrier treaty; the ambaſſador was to anſwer, "That as to the former, her Ma-"jeſty had not in any ſort acted contrary there-"to; that ſhe was ſo far from making a peace "without their conſent, as to declare her firm re-

"ſolution

"ſolution not to make it without their ſatisfac-
"tion; and that what had paſſed between *France*
"and her, amounted to no more than an intro-
"duction to a general treaty. As to the latter,
"the Earl had orders to repreſent very earneſtly,
"how much it was even for the intereſt of *Hol-*
"*land* itſelf, rather to compound the advantage
"of the barrier treaty, than to inſiſt upon the
"whole, which the houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſeveral
"other Allies would never conſent to; that no-
"thing could be more odious to the people of
"*England* than many parts of this treaty, which
"would have raiſed univerſal indignation, if the
"utmoſt care had not been taken to quiet the minds
"of thoſe who were acquainted with the terms of
"that guaranty, and to conceal them from thoſe
"who were not; that it was abſolutely neceſſary
"to maintain a good harmony between both na-
"tions, without which it would be impoſſible at
"any time to form a ſtrength for reducing an ex-
"orbitant power, or preſerving the balance of
"*Europe*; from whence it followed, that it could
"not be the true intereſt of either country, to
"inſiſt upon any conditions which might give
"juſt apprehenſion to the other.

"That *France* had propoſed *Utrecht*, *Nime-*
"*guen*, *Aix* or *Liege*, wherein to hold the general
"treaty; and her Majeſty was ready to ſend her
"plenipotentiaries to which ever of thoſe towns
"the States ſhould approve."

If the Imperial Miniſters, or thoſe of the other Allies, ſhould object againſt the preliminaries as

no ſufficient ground for opening the conferences, and inſiſt that *France* ſhould conſent to ſuch articles as were ſigned on the part of the Allies in the year 1709; the Earl of *Strafford* was in anſwer directed to inſinuate, "That the *French* might probably have been brought to explain themſelves more particularly, had they not perceived the uneaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy among the Allies, during our tranſactions with that court." However he ſhould declare to them, in the Queen's name, "That if they were determined to accept of peace upon no terms inferior to what were formerly demanded, her Majeſty was ready to concur with them, but would no longer bear thoſe diſproportions of expence yearly increaſed upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: that it was therefore incumbent upon them to furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, while her Majeſty reduced hers to a reaſonable and juſt proportion."

That if the miniſters of *Vienna* and *Holland* ſhould urge their inability upon this head, the Queen inſiſted, "They ought to comply with her, in war or in peace; her Majeſty deſiring nothing, as to the firſt, but what they ought to perform, and what is abſolutely neceſſary; and as to the latter, that ſhe had done, and would continue to do the utmoſt in her power towards obtaining ſuch a peace, as might be to the ſatisfaction of all her allies."

Some

Some days after the Earl of *Strafford*'s departure to *Holland*, Monſieur *Buys*, penſionary of *Amſterdam*, arrived here from thence with inſtructions from his maſters to treat upon the ſubject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his firſt conference with a committee of council, he objected againſt all the articles as too general and uncertain, and againſt ſome of them as prejudicial. He ſaid; "The *French* promiſing that trade ſhould be reeſtabliſhed and maintained for the future, was meant in order to deprive the *Dutch* of their tariff of 1664; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *retablir*, to ſignify no more than reſtoring the trade of the States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the preſent war." He ſaid; "That, in the article of *Dunkirk*, the deſtruction of the harbour was not mentioned; and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occaſion a difference between her Majeſty and the States, ſince *Holland* would think it hard to have a town leſs in their barrier for the demolition of *Dunkirk*; and *England* would complain to have this thorn continue in their ſide, for the ſake of giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Laſtly, he objected, "That where the *French* promiſed effectual methods ſhould be taken to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under the ſame king, they offered nothing at all for the ceſ-

ſion

ſion of *Spain*, which was the moſt importa point of the war,

" For theſe reaſons, Monſieur *Buys* hoped h Majeſty would alter her meaſures, and deman ſpecific articles, upon which the Allies might d bate whether they would conſent to a negociatic or no."

The Queen, who looked upon all theſe difficu ties raiſed about the method of treating, as e deavours to wreſt the negociation out of h hands, commanded the lords of the committee t let Monſieur *Buys* know, " That the experien " ſhe formerly had of proceeding by particul " preliminaries towards a general treaty, gave h " no encouragement to repeat the ſame metho " any more: That ſuch a preliminary treaty mu " be negociated either by ſome particular allie " or by all. The firſt, her Majeſty could nev " ſuffer, ſince ſhe would neither take upon her t " ſettle the intereſts of others, nor ſubmit that o " thers ſhould ſettle thoſe of her own kingdom " As to the ſecond, it was liable to Monſieu " *Buys*'s objection, becauſe the miniſters of *Fran* " would have as fair an opportunity of ſowing di " viſion among the Allies, when they were all a " ſembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when th " conferences were open for a negociation o " peace: That this method could therefore hav " no other effect than to delay the treaty, with " out any advantage: That her Majeſty wa " heartily diſpoſed, both then and during the ne " gociation, to inſiſt on every thing neceſſary fo " ſecurin

"ſecuring the barrier and commerce of the "States, and therefore hoped the conferences "might be opened, without farther difficulties.

"That her Majeſty did not only conſent, but "deſire to have a plan ſettled for carrying on the "war, as ſoon as the negociation of peace ſhould "begin, but expected to have the burthen more "equally laid, and more agreeable to treaties, "and would join with the States in preſſing the "Allies to perform their parts, as ſhe had endea-"voured to animate them by her example."

Monſieur *Buys* ſeemed to know little of his maſter's mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her Majeſty's miniſter propoſed to him an alliance between the two nations, to ſubſiſt after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negociate, in order to gain time to pick out, if poſſible, the whole ſecret of the tranſactions between *Britain* and *France*; to diſcloſe nothing himſelf, nor bind his maſters to any conditions; to ſeek delays till the parliament met, and then obſerve what turn it took, and what would be the iſſue of thoſe frequent cabals between himſelf and ſome other foreign miniſters, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the diſcontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours, raiſed againſt the proceedings of the Queen's miniſters towards a peace, would make the parliament diſ-

approve

approve what had been done, whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miſcarried twice already, although Prince *Eugene* himſelf owned, "That *France* was then diſpoſed to conclude a peace upon ſuch conditions, as it was not worth the life of a grenadier to refuſe them." As to inſiſting upon ſpecific preliminaries, her Majeſty thought her own method much better, for each Ally, in the courſe of the negociation, to advance and manage his own pretenſions, wherein ſhe would ſupport and aſſiſt them, rather than for two miniſters of one Ally to treat ſolely with the enemy, and report what they pleaſed to the reſt, as was practiſed by the *Dutch* at *Gertruydenberg*.

One part of Monſieur *Buys*'s inſtructions was to deſire the Queen not to be ſo far amuſed by a treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for war againſt the next campaign. Her Majeſty, who was firmly reſolved againſt ſubmitting any longer to that unequal burthen of expence ſhe had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to debate the matter with that miniſter, who ſaid he had no power to treat, only inſiſted that his maſters had fully done their part; and that nothing but exhortations could be uſed to prevail on the other Allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other ſide, the Queen refuſed to concert any plan for the proſecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to o-

pen

pen the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Monſ. *Buys*'s application to them, was accordingly done, by a reſolution taken in *Holland* upon the twenty-firſt of *November* 1711, N. S.

About this time the Count *de Gallas* was forbid the court, by order from the Queen, who ſent him word, that ſhe looked upon him no longer as a public miniſter.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very diſhonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconſiſtent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and preſent Emperors; two princes under the ſtricteſt ties of gratitude to the Queen, eſpecially the latter, who had then the title of King of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the end of *Auguſt* 1711, with the utmoſt privacy, diſpatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Frankfort*, where the Earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This man was inſtructed to paſs for a *Spaniard*, and inſinuate himſelf into the Earl's ſervice; which he accordingly did, and gave conſtant information to the laſt Emperor's ſecretary at *Frankfort*, of all he could gather up in his lordſhip's family, as well as copies of ſeveral letters he had tranſcribed. It was likewiſe diſcovered that *Gallas* had, in his diſpatches to the preſent Emperor, then in *Spain*, repreſented the Queen and her miniſters as not to be confided in; that when her Majeſty had diſmiſſed the Earl of *Sunderland*, ſhe promiſed to proceed no further in the change of her ſervants, yet ſoon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned

Spain;

Spain; that the preſent miniſters wanted the abilities and good diſpoſitions of the former; were perſons of ill deſigns, and enemies to the common cauſe; and he *(Gallas)* could not truſt them. In his letters to Count *Zinzendorf*, he ſaid, "That "Mr. Secretary *St. John* complained of the houſe "of *Auſtria*'s backwardneſs, only to make the "King of *Spain* odious to *England*, and the people "here deſirous of a peace, although it were ever "ſo bad a one;" to prevent which, Count *Gallas* drew up a memorial, which he intended to give the Queen, and tranſmitted a draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promiſes to encourage the continuance of the war, propoſed the detaching a good body of troops from *Hungary*, to ſerve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the Queen ſhould think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a ſtep, without conſulting the Emperor: to which *Gallas* replied, that his deſign was only to engage the Queen to go on with the war; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earneſtly the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had preſſed to have theſe troops from *Hungary*; and therefore they ought to be promiſed, in order to quiet thoſe two nations, after which ſeveral ways might be found to elude that promiſe; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained, of bringing the *Engliſh* to declare for continuing the war: That the Emperor might afterwards excuſe himſelf, by apprehenſion of a war in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muſcovites*:

Muſcovites: That if theſe excuſes ſhould be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be ſent, and the reſt deferred, by pretending want of money; by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain ſome part of thoſe troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that this way of management was very common among the Allies; and gave for an example, the forces which the *Dutch* had promiſed for the ſervice of *Spain*, but were never ſent; with ſeveral other inſtances of the ſame kind, which he ſaid might be produced.

Her Majeſty, who had long ſuſpected that Count *Gallas* was engaged in theſe and the like practices, having at laſt received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confeſſion of thoſe, who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it neceſſary to ſhew her reſentment, by refuſing the Count any more acceſs to her perſon or her court.

Although the Queen, as it hath been already obſerved, was reſolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet ſhe thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmoſt conceſſions which *France* would make to the ſeveral Allies, but eſpecially to the States-General and the Duke of *Savoy*; therefore, while her Majeſty was preſſing the former to agree to a general treaty, the Abbé *Gualtier* was ſent to *France* with a memorial, to deſire that the moſt Chriſtian King would explain himſelf upon thoſe preliminaries, particulary with

relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whoſe ſatisfaction the Queen had moſt at heart, as well from her friendſhip to both theſe powers, as becauſe, if ſhe might engage to them that their juſt pretenſions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* anſwer to this memorial contained ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for the ſatisfaction of each Ally, coming up very near to what her Majeſty and her miniſters thought reaſonable. The greateſt difficulties ſeemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whoſe intereſts *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for thoſe of the Duke of *Savoy*: however, thoſe were judged not very hard to be ſurmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her Majeſty and that Republic.

"That the congreſs ſhould be held at *Utrecht*; "that the opening of the congreſs ſhould be upon "the 12th of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

"That for avoiding all inconveniencies of cere- "mony, the miniſters of the Queen and States, "during the treaty, ſhould have only the charac- "ters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of "ambaſſadors, till the day on which the peace "ſhould be ſigned.

"Laſtly, the Queen and States inſiſted, that "the miniſters of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the "late Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, ſhould "not appear at the congreſs until the points re- "lating to their maſters were adjuſted; and were

"firmly

"firmly reſolved not to ſend their paſſports for the "miniſters of *France*, till the moſt Chriſtian "King declared, that the abſence of the fore-"mentioned miniſters ſhould not delay the pro-"greſs of the negociation."

Purſuant to the three former articles, her Majeſty wrote circular letters to all the Allies engaged with her in the preſent war; and *France* had notice, that as ſoon as the King declared his compliance with the laſt article, the blank paſſports ſhould be filled up with the names of the Mareſchal *D'Uxelles*, the Abbé *de Polignac*, and Monſ. *Meſnager*, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader ſees the plan which the Queen thought the moſt effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer ſeparately to the Allies, what might be reaſonable for each to accept; and her own intereſts being previouſly ſettled, ſhe was to act as a general mediator: a figure that became her beſt, from the part ſhe had in the war, and more uſeful to the great end at which ſhe aimed, of giving a ſafe and honourable peace to *Europe*.

Beſides, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſts of *Britain*, that the Queen ſhould be at the head of the negociation, without which her Majeſty could find no expedient to redreſs the injuries her kingdoms were ſure to ſuffer by the Barrier Treaty. In order to ſettle this point with the

States, the miniſters here had a conference with Monſieur *Buys*, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "how neceſſary it was, by "a previous concert between the Emperor, the "Queen, and the States, to prevent any dif- "ference which might ariſe in the courſe of the "*Utrecht* treaty; that, under pretence of a bar- "rier for the States-General, as their ſecurity a- "gainſt *France*, infinite prejudice might ariſe to "the trade of *Britain*, in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; "for, by the fifteenth article of the Barrier Trea- "ty, in conſequence of what was ſtipulated by "that of *Munſter*, the Queen was brought to en- "gage, that commerce ſhall not be rendered "more eaſy, in point of duties, by the ſea-ports of "*Flanders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*, and by "the canals on the ſide of the Seven Provinces, "which, as things now ſtood, was very unjuſt; "for while the towns in *Flanders* were in the "hands of *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we "traded to them upon equal foot; but now, ſince "by the Barrier Treaty thoſe towns were to be "poſſeſſed by the States, that republic might lay "what duties they pleaſed upon *Britiſh* goods, af- "ter paſſing by *Oſtend*, and make their own cuſ- "tom free, which would utterly ruin our whole "trade with *Flanders*."

Upon this the Lords told Monſieur *Buys* very frankly, "That if the States expected the Queen "ſhould ſupport their Barrier, as well as their "demands from *France* and the houſe of *Auſtria* "upon that head, they ought to agree, that the "ſubjects

"ſubjects of *Britain* ſhould trade as freely to all "the countries and places which, by virtue of "any former or future treaty, were to become "the barrier of the States, as they did in the "time of the late King *Charles* the Second of "*Spain*, or as the ſubjects of the States-General "themſelves ſhall do; and that it was hoped their "High Mightineſſes would never ſcruple to rec-"tify a miſtake ſo injurious to that nation, with-"out whoſe blood and treaſure they would have "had no Barrier at all." Monſieur *Buys* had nothing to anſwer againſt theſe objections, but ſaid, he had already wrote to his Maſters for further inſtructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about ſettling what ſhould be the barrier to the States after a peace, the envoy inſiſting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion; and the Queen's miniſters excepting thoſe towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the *Dutch*, would render the trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really eſſential to the ſecurity of their barrier againſt *France*, and that ſome amicable expedient ſhould be found, for removing the fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But, at the ſame time, Monſ. *Buys* was told, "That although the Queen would certainly inſiſt "to obtain all thoſe points from *France*, in be-"half of her allies the States, yet ſhe hoped his "maſters were too reaſonable to break off the

"treaty, rather than not obtain the very utmoſt "of their demands, which could not be ſettled "here, unleſs he were fully inſtructed to ſpeak "and conclude upon that ſubject: That her "Majeſty thought, the beſt way of ſecuring the "common intereſt, and preventing the diviſion "of the allies, by the artifices of *France*, in the "courſe of a long negociation, would be, to con-"cert between the Queen's miniſters and thoſe "of the States, with a due regard to the other "confederates, ſuch a plan as might amount to "a ſafe and honourable peace." After which, the Abbé *Polignac*, who, of the *French* plenipotentiaries, was moſt in the ſecret of his court, might be told, "That it was in vain to amuſe "each other any longer; that, on ſuch terms, "the peace would be immediately concluded; "and that the conferences muſt ceaſe, if thoſe "conditions were not, without delay, and with "expedition, granted."

A treaty between her Majeſty and the States, to ſubſiſt after a peace, was now ſigned, Monſieur *Buys* having received full powers to that purpoſe. His maſters were deſirous to have a private article added, *ſub ſperati*, concerning thoſe terms of peace, without the granting of which, we ſhould ſtipulate, not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of *Buys*, nor the manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the Queen to enter into ſuch an engagement. The congreſs likewiſe approaching, there was not time to ſettle a point of ſo great importance.

Neither,

Neither, laſtly, would her Majeſty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous ſatisfaction upon ſeveral articles in the barrier treaty, ſo inconſiſtent with her engagement to other powers in the alliance, and ſo injurious to her own kingdoms.

The Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Straſford* having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her Majeſty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I ſhall here break off the account of any further progreſs made in that great affair, until I reſume it in the laſt book of this hiſtory.

BOOK III.

THE houſe of commons ſeemed reſolved, from the beginning of the ſeſſion, to enquire ſtrictly, not only into all abuſes relating to the accounts of the army, but likewiſe into the ſeveral treaties between us and our allies; upon what articles and conditions they were firſt agreed to; and how theſe had been ſince obſerved. In the firſt week of their ſitting, they ſent an addreſs to the Queen, to deſire that the treaty, whereby her Majeſty was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the houſe. To which the ſecretary of ſtate brought an anſwer, "That ſearch had "been made, but no footſteps could be found of "any treaty or convention for that purpoſe." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former miniſtry,

miniſtry, which firſt gave a pretence to the allies for leſſening their quotas, ſo much to the diſadvantage of her Majeſty, her kingdoms, and the common cauſe, in the courſe of the war. It had been ſtipulated by the grand alliance between the Emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that thoſe three powers ſhould aſſiſt each other with their whole force, and that the ſeveral proportions ſhould be ſpecified in a particular convention. But if any ſuch convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common conſent, to take each a certain ſhare of the burthen upon themſelves, which the late King *William* communicated to the houſe of commons by his ſecretary of ſtate, and which afterwards, the other two powers, obſerving the mighty zeal in our miniſtry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleaſed.

The commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding ſummer, diſcovered ſeveral practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the houſe.

The commons began their examination of the report, with a member of their own, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, already mentioned, who, during his being ſecretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the Queen's troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuſe the firſt contract,

tract; but had nothing to ſay about the ſecond. The firſt appeared ſo plain and ſo ſcandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption; committed him priſoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the ſeſſion; and expelled him the houſe. He was a perſon much careſſed by the oppoſers of the Queen and miniſtry, having been firſt drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept ſteady by the loſs of his place. His bold forward countenance, altogether a ſtranger to that infirmity which makes men baſhful, joined to a readineſs of ſpeaking in public, hath juſtly entitled him, among thoſe of his faction, to be a ſort of leader of the ſecond form. The reader muſt excuſe me for being ſo particular about one, who is otherwiſe altogether obſcure.

Another part of the report, concerned the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large ſums of money, by way of gratuity, from thoſe who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the Duke excuſed, in a letter to the commiſſioners, from the like practice of other generals; but that excuſe appeared to be of little weight; and the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch a corruption were viſible enough, ſince the money given by theſe undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds that begin at the top, are apt to ſpread through all the ſubordinate ranks

ranks of thoſe who have any ſhare in the management, and to increaſe as they circulate; ſo, in this caſe, for every thouſand pounds given to the general, the ſoldiers, at leaſt, ſuffered four-fold.

Another article of this report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more importance. The greateſt part of her Majeſty's forces in *Flanders*, were mercenary troops, hired from ſeveral princes of *Europe*. It was found, that the Queen's general ſubtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of thoſe troops, for his own uſe, which amounted to a great annual ſum. The Duke of *Marlborough*, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commiſſioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the "foreign troops, which he had negociated with "them by the late King's orders, and had ob-"tained the Queen's warrant for reſerving and "receiving it: That it was intended for ſecret "ſervice, the ten thouſand pounds a-year, given "by parliament, not proving ſufficient, and had "all been laid out that way." The commiſſioners obſerved in anſwer, "That the warrant was "kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no en-"try of it appeared in the ſecretary of ſtate's "books, and the deduction of it concealed all "that time from the knowledge of parliament; "that if it had been a free gift from the foreign "troops, it would not have been ſtipulated by "agreement, as the Duke's letter confeſſed, and "as his warrant declared; which letter affirmed "this ſtoppage to be intended for defraying ex-

"traordinary

"traordinary contingent expences of the troops, "and therefore ſhould not have been applied to "ſecret ſervices." They ſubmitted to the houſe, whether the warrant itſelf were legal, or duly counter-ſigned. The commiſſioners added, "That "no receipt was ever given for this deducted "money, nor was it mentioned in any receipts "from the foreign troops, which were always "taken in full. And laſtly, that the whole ſum, "on computation, amounted to near three hun-"dred thouſand pounds."

The houſe, after a long debate, reſolved, "That "the taking ſeveral ſums from the contractors "for bread, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, was "unwarrantable and illegal; and that the two "and a half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign "troops, was public money, and ought to be ac-"counted for." Which reſolutions were laid before the Queen by the whole houſe, and her Majeſty promiſed to do her part in redreſſing what was complained of. The Duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the Queen, procured a warrant from her Majeſty for this perquiſite of two and a half *per cent.* The warrant was directed to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and counter-ſigned by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then ſecretary of ſtate; by virtue of which, the paymaſter-general of the army was to pay the ſaid deducted money to the gene-ral, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was obſerved, as very commendable, and be-coming

coming the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few perſonal reflections upon the Duke of *Marlborough*. They ſeemed only deſirous to come at the truth, without which they could not anſwer the truſt repoſed in them, by thoſe whom they repreſented; and left the reſt to her Majeſty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action againſt the Duke for the ſubtracted money, which would have amounted to a great ſum, enough to ruin any private perſon, except himſelf. This proceſs is ſtill depending, although very moderately purſued, either by the Queen's indulgence to one whom ſhe had formerly ſo much truſted, or perhaps to be revived or ſlackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a member of parliament, and ſecretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the houſe, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from thoſe who had contracted to furniſh bread for the army, and met with no farther puniſhment, for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

Theſe were all the cenſures, of any moment, which the commons, under ſo great a weight of buſineſs, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commiſſioners for inſpecting the public accounts. But having promiſed, in the beginning of this hiſtory, to examine the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they firſt began, and, in proceſs of time,

time, made ſuch a prodigious increaſe; and laſtly, what courſes have been taken under the preſent adminiſtration, to find out funds for anſwering ſo many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a ſtop to new ones; I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the hiſtory of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debt, ſecured upon parliamentary funds of intereſt, were things unknown in *England* before the laſt revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand rebellion, the King's enemies borrowed money of particular perſons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for ſhort periods, and the ſums no more than what they could pay at once, as they conſtantly did. Some of our Kings have been very profuſe in peace and war, and are blamed in hiſtory for their oppreſſions of the people by ſevere taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid; but national debts was a ſtyle which, I doubt, would hardly then be underſtood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raiſed to the throne, and a general war began in theſe parts of *Europe*, the King and his counſellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in eaſe and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought; wherefore, one of the firſt actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to

ſupport the war (which even the convention parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he ſhould engage in) the preſent Biſhop of *Saliſbury** is ſaid to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raiſing money upon the ſecurity of taxes, that were only ſufficient to pay a large intereſt. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project, were many and plauſible; for ſuppoſing, as the miniſters induſtriouſly gave out, that the war could not laſt above one or two campaigns at moſt, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing, would, in proceſs of time, be eaſily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large intereſt would draw in a great number of thoſe whoſe money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government, would, by ſureſt principle, be obliged to ſupport it. Beſides, the men of eſtates could not be perſuaded, without time and difficulty, to have thoſe taxes laid on their lands, which cuſtom hath ſince made ſo familiar; and it was the buſineſs of ſuch as were then in power, to cultivate a monied intereſt, becauſe the gentry of the kingdom did not very much reliſh thoſe new notions in government, to which the King, who had imbibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither, perhaps, did that Prince, think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, ſince the flouriſhing republic

* Dr. *Gilbert Burnet.*

republic where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Monſ. *Buys* the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the intereſt of the public to be in debt; which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth ſo crazily inſtituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their ſubjects fidelity, and where a great majority muſt inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about: but to preſcribe the ſame rules to a monarchy, whoſe wealth ariſeth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped underſtanding.

I was moved to ſpeak thus, becauſe I am very well ſatisfied, that the pernicious counſels of borrowing money upon public funds of intereſt, as well as ſome other ſtate-leſſons, were taken indigeſted from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the leaſt for any difference in government, religion, law, cuſtom, extent of country, or manners and diſpoſitions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was firſt put in practice, artful men in office and credit, began to conſider what uſes it might be applied to; and ſoon found it was likely to prove the moſt fruitful ſeminary, not only to eſtabliſh a faction they intended to ſet up for their own ſupport, but likewiſe to raiſe vaſt wealth for themſelves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifeſt, that nothing

could promote theſe two deſigns ſo much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the firſt, it was not to be doubted, that monied men would be always firm to the party of thoſe who adviſed the borrowing upon ſuch good ſecurity, and with ſuch exorbitant premiums and intereſt; and every new ſum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: ſo that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was ſtill the better for them. Thus, a new eſtate and property ſprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every houſe and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchaſed at leſs than half value: ſo that the gentlemen of eſtates were, in effect, but tenants to theſe new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of thoſe who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived to ſuch a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly caſt the balance on the monied ſide.

As to the ſecond, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to thoſe who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to ſtrike tallies for making up the reſt, which tallies were ſometimes (to ſpeak in the merchant's phraſe) at above forty *per cent.* diſcount. At this price, thoſe who were in the ſecret, bought them up, and

and then took care to have that deficiency ſupplied in the next ſeſſion of parliament, by which they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities propoſed ſome farther advantage, either as to intereſt or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already ſettled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt parliament of the Queen, the ſaid mortgage was continued till 1710, to ſupply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thouſand pounds, and intereſt of above a million; and, in the intermediate years, a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years; ſo that the late miniſtry raiſed all their money to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were ſatisfied to continue the payments they had been accuſtomed to, and made the adminiſtration ſeem eaſy, ſince the war went on without any new taxes raiſed, except the very laſt year they were in power; not conſidering what a mighty fund was exhauſted, and muſt be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true intereſt of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty ſums borrowed upon it, but with the intereſts due up-

on thoſe ſums; for which the treaſury was forced to ſtrike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other proviſion of intereſt for three or four years: till at laſt the fund was ſo overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor intereſt; and tallies were ſtruck for both, which occaſioned their great diſcount.

But, to avoid miſtakes upon a ſubject where I am not very well verſed, either in the ſtyle or matter, I will tranſcribe an account ſent me by a perſon * who is thoroughly inſtructed in theſe affairs.

'In the year 1707, the ſum of eight hundred 'twenty-two thouſand three hundred and eighty-'one pounds fifteen ſhillings and ſixpence was 'raiſed, by continuing part of the general mort-'gage from 1710 to 1712; but with no provi-'ſion of intereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1710, other-'wiſe than by ſtriking tallies for it on that fund, 'payable after all the other money borrowed.

'In 1708, the ſame funds were continued from '1712 to 1714, to raiſe ſeven hundred twenty-'nine thouſand ſixty-ſeven pounds fifteen ſhil-'lings and ſixpence; but no proviſion for intereſt 'till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1712, otherwiſe than as be-'fore, by ſtriking tallies for it on the ſame fund, 'payable after all the reſt of the money borrow-'ed. And the diſcount of tallies then beginning 'to riſe, great part of that money remains ſtill 'unraiſed; and there is nothing to pay intereſt 'for

* Sir John Blount.

'for the money lent, till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1712. 'But the late lord treaſurer ſtruck tallies for the 'full ſum directed by the act to be borrowed, 'great part of which have been delivered in pay- 'ment to the navy and victualling-offices, and 'ſome are ſtill in the hands of the government.

'In 1709, part of the ſame fund was continu- 'ed from *Auguſt* the firſt, 1714, to *Auguſt* the 'firſt, 1716, to raiſe ſix hundred forty-five thou- 'ſand pounds; and no proviſion for intereſt till '*Auguſt* the firſt, 1714, (which was about five 'years) but by borrowing money on the ſame 'fund, payable after the ſums before lent; ſo 'that little of that money was lent. But the tal- 'lies were ſtruck for what was unlent, ſome of 'which were given out for the payment of the 'navy and victualling, and ſome ſtill remain in 'the hands of the government.

'In 1710, the ſums which were before given 'from 1714 to 1716, were continued from thence 'to 1720, to raiſe 1,296,552 *l.* 9 *s.* 11¾ *d.* and no 'immediate proviſion for intereſt till *Auguſt* the 'firſt, 1716; only, after the duty of one ſhilling '*per* buſhel, on ſalt, ſhould be cleared from the 'money it was then charged with, and which 'was not ſo cleared till *Midſummer* 1712 laſt, 'then that fund was to be applied to pay the in- 'tereſt till *Auguſt* the firſt, 1716, which intereſt 'amounted to about 77,793 *l. per annum*; and 'the ſaid ſalt fund produceth but about 55,000 *l.* '*per annum*; ſo that no money was borrowed up- 'on the general mortgage in 1710, except

'150,000 *l.*

'150,000 *l.* lent by the *Swiſs* cantons; but tal-'lies were ſtruck for the whole ſum. Theſe all 'remained in the late treaſurer's hands at the 'time of his removal; yet the money was expend-'ed, which occaſioned thoſe great demands up-'on the commiſſioners of the treaſury who ſuc-'ceeded him, and were forced to pawn thoſe tal-'lies to the bank, or to remitters, rather than ſell 'them at 20 or 25 *per cent.* diſcount, as the price 'then was. About 200,000 *l.* of them they paid 'to clothiers of the army, and others; and all the 'reſt, being above 90,000 *l.* have been ſub-'ſcribed into the *South-Sea* company, for the uſe 'of the public.'

When the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy, of millions, all contracted under his adminiſtration, which had no parliament-ſecurity, and was daily increaſed. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the ſmalleſt proſpect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or deſpair at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the conſequences were viſible and ruinous; for by this means navy-bills grew to be 40 *per cent.* diſcount, and upwards; and almoſt every kind of ſtores, bought by the navy and victualling-offices, coſt the government double rates, and ſometimes more; ſo that the public hath directly loſt ſeveral millions upon this one article, without any ſort of neceſſity, that I could ever hear aſſigned by the ableſt vindicators of that party.

In

In this oppreſſed and entangled ſtate was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his office, and put it into commiſſion, of which the preſent treaſurer was one. This perſon had been choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments, was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, and always in great eſteem with the Queen, for his wiſdom and fidelity. The late miniſtry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her Majeſty, much againſt her inclination, to diſmiſs him from her ſervice; for which they cannot be juſtly blamed, ſince he had endeavoured the ſame thing againſt them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he ſhould ſucceed in a ſecond attempt againſt thoſe very adverſaries, who had ſuch fair warning by the firſt. He is firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, not eaſily diverted from them, after he hath once poſſeſſed himſelf of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himſelf, being taught by experience, that a ſecret is ſeldom ſafe in more than one breaſt. That which occurs to other men, after mature deliberation, offers to him as his firſt thoughts; ſo that he decides immediately what is beſt to be done; and therefore, is ſeldom at a loſs upon ſudden exigencies. He thinks it a more eaſy and ſafe rule in politics, to watch incidents as they come, and and then turn them to the advantage of what he purſues, than pretend to foreſee them at a great diſtance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly

wholly ſtrangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether diſapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an eaſineſs and indifference under any imputation, although he be never ſo innocent, and although the ſtrongeſt probabilities and appearances are againſt him; ſo that I have known him often ſuſpected by his neareſt friends, for ſome months, in points of the higheſt importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the ſenſe they take the word, and as it is uſually underſtood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with leſs juſtice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonſtrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in ſerving little turns, propoſing little ends, and ſupplying daily exigencies by little ſhifts and expedients. But, to reſcue a prince out of the hands of inſolent ſubjects, bent upon ſuch deſigns as muſt probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying ſuch exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the moſt important fortreſs of his kingdom, as a ſecurity; and this againſt all the oppoſition, mutually

mutually raiſed and inflamed by parties and allies: ſuch performances can only be called cunning by thoſe whoſe want of underſtanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themſelves do neither poſſeſs, nor can form any juſt conception of. However, it muſt be allowed, that an obſtinate love of ſecrecy in this miniſter, ſeems, at diſtance, to have ſome reſemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of ſecrets, but appears to be ſo too, which I number amongſt his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends, for refuſing to diſcover his intentions, even in thoſe points where the wiſeſt man may have need of advice and aſſiſtance; and ſome have cenſured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to anſwer, "That he "ſeldom did otherwiſe, without cauſe to re-"pent."

However, ſo undiſtinguiſhed a caution cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified; by which the owner loſeth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deſerved to be confided in, may, with ſome reaſon, complain. His love of procraſtination (wherein doubtleſs nature hath her ſhare) may probably be increaſed by the ſame means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great miniſters, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the leaſt conſequence, and go back to fetch it when their ſhoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as loſt, by delay, which, at worſt, is a fault on the ſecurer ſide.

Neither

Neither, probably, is this miniſter anſwerable for half the clâmour raiſed againſt him upon that article: His endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular perſons, which renders him leſs amiable, than he would otherwiſe have been from the goodneſs of his humour, and agreeable converſation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet ſome allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greateſt he hath, ſince he cannot be more careleſs of other mens fortunes than he is of his own. He is maſter of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty uſe in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a perſon who hath paſſed through ſo many employments in the ſtate, endowed with a great ſhare both of divine and human learning.

I am perſuaded that foreigners, as well as thoſe at home, who live too remote from the ſcene of buſineſs, to be rightly informed, will not be diſpleaſed with this account of a perſon, who, in the ſpace of two years, hath been ſo highly inſtrumental in changing the face of affairs in *Europe*, and hath deſerved ſo well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts, which I have already deſcribed, this miniſter was brought into the treaſury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His firſt regulation was that of exchequer bills; which, to the great diſcouragement

diſcouragement of public credit, and ſcandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* leſs in value than the ſums ſpecified in them. The preſent treaſurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of *England* ſhould be obliged, in conſideration of 45,000 l. to accept and circulate thoſe bills, without any diſcount. He then proceeded to ſtop the depredations of thoſe who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffic, had amaſſed prodigious wealth at the public coſt, to which the Earl of *Godolphin* had given too much way *, *poſſibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accuſed of corruption.*

But the new treaſurer's chief concern was to reſtore the credit of the nation, by finding ſome ſettlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and diſgraceful, without any proſpect of being removed, and which former miniſters never had the care or courage to inſpect. He reſolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and ſummed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and tranſport of the army, and tranſport debentures made out for the ſervice of the laſt war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and ſome other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of intereſt ſufficient to anſwer all this, which, being applied to other uſes, could not

* Added in the author's own hand-writing.

raiſe preſent money for the war, but, in a very few years, would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing intereſt was to be paid by the treaſurer of the navy; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they ſhould be erected into a company, for trading to the South-ſeas, and for encouragement of fiſhery. When all this was fully prepared and digeſted, he made a motion in the houſe of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a ſudden ſtop was put to this affair by an unforeſeen accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his title) being ſtabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midſt of a dozen lords of the council, by the Sieur *de Guiſcard* a *French* papiſt; the circumſtances of which fact being not within the compaſs of this hiſtory, I ſhall only obſerve, that, after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his ſeat in parliament †.

The overtures made by this miniſter, of paying ſo vaſt a debt, under the preſſures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding ſupplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illneſs, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and viſionary project: and when, upon his return to the houſe, he had explained his propoſal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed

† See the particular account in the Examiner, vol. III.

vailed on to oppoſe it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill paſſed; and, as an immediate conſequence, the naval bills roſe to about twenty *per cent.* nor ever fell within ten of their diſcount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been ſince erected. The laſt of that kind, under the former miniſtry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the firſt, under the preſent, was filled in a very few hours, although it coſt the government leſs; and the others, which followed, were full before the acts concerning them could paſs. And, to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmoſt parſimony, or by ſuſpending payments, where they ſeemed leſs to preſs, that all ſtores for the navy ſhould be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* hath been ſaved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling-office on the ninth of *Auguſt* 1712, and the payment of the intereſt was leſs a burthen upon the navy, by the ſtores being bought at ſo cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of ſmaller moment. What I have above related, may ſerve to ſhew in how ill a condition the kingdom ſtood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence, of former management; and

what prudent, effectual meaſures have ſince been taken, to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be ſufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a ſubject ſo little entertaining as that of accounts: I ſhall therefore now return to relate ſome of the principal matters that paſſed in parliament during this ſeſſion.

Upon the eighteenth of *January*, the houſe of lords ſent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the *Hanover* family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown. That of *Henry* VIII. which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the princeſs *Sophia* is a princeſs of the blood, as niece to king *Charles* I. of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not deſcend to her ſon the elector, or the electoral prince. To ſupply which defect, and pay a compliment to the preſumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her Majeſty to the Houſe of Lords; which the Commons, to ſhew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the intereſt or honour of that illuſtrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and paſſed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the Lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was ſent down.

But the houſe ſeemed to have nothing more at heart than a ſtrict enquiry into the ſtate of the nation,

nation, with reſpect to foreign alliances. Some diſcourſes had been publiſhed in print, about the beginning of the ſeſſion, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty concluded about three years ſince by the Lord Viſcount *Townſend*, between *Great Britain* and the States-General; and ſhewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of theſe powers in our alliance, in furniſhing their quotas and ſupplies. It was aſſerted by the ſame writers, "That theſe hard-"ſhips, put upon *England*, had been countenan-"ced and encouraged by a party here at home, in "order to preſerve their power, which could be "no otherwiſe maintained than by continuing "the war, as well as by her Majeſty's general a-"broad, upon account of his own peculiar inte-"reſt and grandeur." Theſe loud accuſations ſpreading themſelves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controverſies, both in writing and diſcourſe. The point appeared to be of great conſequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former caſe, it was neceſſary that the Allies ſhould be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her Majeſty had done ſuch great things, ſhould explain and correct thoſe articles in the barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and, in either caſe, it was

fit the people ſhould have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of knowing by whoſe counſels, and for what deſigns, they had been ſo hardly treated.

In order to this great enquiry, the barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements, entered into between her Majeſty and her Allies, during the preſent war, for the raiſing and augmenting the proportions for the ſervice thereof, were, by the Queen's directions, laid before the houſe.

Several reſolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the Allies in furniſhing their quotas, upon certain articles in the barrier-treaty, and upon the ſtate of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged, by public diſcourſes in print, againſt the late miniſtry, and the conduct of the Allies, was much leſs than the truth. Upon theſe reſolutions (by one of which the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, who negociated and ſigned the barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the Queen and kingdom,) and upon ſome farther directions to the committee, a repreſentation was formed; and ſoon after the Commons, in a body, preſented it to the Queen, the endeavours of the adverſe party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

This repreſentation (ſuppoſed to be the work of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*'s pen) is written with much energy and ſpirit, and will be a very uſeful authentic record, for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who at any time ſhall undertake to write the hiſtory of the preſent times.

I did

I did intend, for brevity's ſake, to have given the reader only an abſtract of it; but, upon trial, found myſelf unequal to ſuch a taſk, without injuring ſo excellent a piece: and, although I think hiſtorical relations are but ill patched up with long tranſcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet, this being the ſum of all debates and reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal "ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in par- "liament aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at "heart as to enable your Majeſty to bring this "long and expenſive war to an honourable and "happy concluſion, have taken it into our moſt "ſerious conſideration, how the neceſſary ſup- "plies to be provided by us may be beſt applied, "and how the common cauſe may in the moſt "effectual manner be carried on, by the united "force of the whole confederacy: we have "thought ourſelves obliged, in duty to your Ma- "jeſty, and in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in "us, to inquire into the true ſtate of the war, in "all its parts: we have examined what ſtipula- "tions have been entered into between your Ma- "jeſty and your allies, and how far ſuch en- "gagements have on each ſide been made good: "we have conſidered the different intereſts "which the confederates have in the ſucceſs of

"this

"this war, and the different ſhares they have "contributed to its ſupport: we have, with our "utmoſt care and diligence, endeavoured to diſ-"cover the nature, extent, and charge of it, to "the end, that, by comparing the weight there-"of with our own ſtrength, we might adapt the "one to the other in ſuch meaſure, as neither to "continue your Majeſty's ſubjects under a hea-"vier burthen, than in reaſon and juſtice they "ought to bear; nor deceive your Majeſty, your "allies, and ourſelves, by undertaking more than "the nation, in its preſent circumſtances, is able "to perform.

"Your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, "upon our humble applications, to order ſuch "materials to be laid before us, as have furniſh-"ed us with the neceſſary information upon the "particulars we have inquired into; and, when "we ſhall have laid before your Majeſty our ob-"ſervations, and humble advice upon this ſub-"ject, we promiſe to ourſelves this happy fruit "from it, that if your Majeſty's generous and "good purpoſes, for the procuring a ſafe and "laſting peace, ſhould, through the obſtinacy of "the enemy, or by any other means, be unhap-"pily defeated, a true knowledge and underſtand-"ing of the paſt conduct of the war, will be the "beſt foundation for a more frugal and equal "management of it for the time to come.

"In order to take the more perfect view of what "we have propoſed, and that we might be able "to ſet the whole before your Majeſty in a true "light,

'light, we have thought it neceſſary to go back
'to the beginning of the war, and beg leave to
'obſerve the motives and reaſons upon which
'his late Majeſty King *William* firſt engaged in
"it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains
"thoſe reaſons to be, for the ſupporting the pre-
"tenſions of his Imperial Majeſty, then actually
"engaged in a war with the *French* King, who
"had uſurped the entire *Spaniſh* monarchy for
"his grandſon the Duke of *Anjou*; and for the
"aſſiſting the States-General, who, by the loſs
"of their barrier againſt *France*, were then in
"the ſame, or a more dangerous condition, than
"if they were actually invaded. As theſe were
"the juſt and neceſſary motives for undertaking
"this war, ſo the ends propoſed to be obtained
"by it, were equally wiſe and honourable; for,
"as they are ſet forth in the eighth article of
"the ſame treaty, they appear to have been, *the*
"*procuring an equitable and reaſonable ſatisfaction*
"*to his Imperial Majeſty, and ſufficient ſecurities*
"*for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and com-*
"*merce of the King of* Great-Britain, *and the*
"*States-General, and the making effectual proviſion,*
"*that the two kingdoms of* France *and* Spain *ſhould*
"*never be united under the ſame government*; and
"particularly, that the *French* ſhould never get
"into the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, or
"be permitted to ſail thither, upon the account of
'traffic, or under any pretence whatſoever:
'and laſtly, the ſecuring to the ſubjects of the
'King of *Great-Britain*, and the States-General,

"all

" all the ſame privileges, and rights of commerce,
" throughout the whole dominions of *Spain*,
" as they enjoyed before the death of *Charles* the
" Second, King of *Spain*, by virtue of any treaty,
" agreement, or cuſtom, or any other way what-
" ſoever. For the obtaining theſe ends, the
" three confederated powers engaged to aſſiſt one
" another with their whole force, according to
" ſuch proportions as ſhould be ſpecified in a
" particular convention, afterwards to be made
" for that purpoſe: we do not find that any
" ſuch convention was ever ratified; but it ap-
" pears, that there was an agreement concluded,
" which, by common conſent, was underſtood to
" be binding upon each party reſpectively; and
" according to which, the proportions of *Great-*
" *Britain* were from the beginning regulated and
" founded. The terms of that agreement were,
" that, for the ſervice at land, his Imperial Ma-
" jeſty ſhould furniſh ninety thouſand men, the
" King of *Great-Britain* forty thouſand, and the
" States-General one hundred and two thouſand;
" of which there were forty-two thouſand intended
" to ſupply their garriſons, and ſixty thouſand to
" act againſt the common enemy in the field:
" and with regard to the operations of the war
" at ſea, they were agreed to be performed joint-
" ly by *Great-Britain* and the States-General;
" the quota of ſhips to be furniſhed for that ſer-
" vice being five-eighths on the part of *Great-*
" *Britain*, and three-eighths on the part of the
" States-General.

" Upon

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year " 1702; at which time, the whole yearly ex- " pence of it to *England* amounted to three mil- " lions ſeven hundred and ſix thouſand four hun- " dred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, " as it was then thought by your Majeſty's ſub- " jects, after the ſhort interval of eaſe they had " enjoyed from the burthen of the former war, " but yet a very moderate proportion, in compa- " riſon with the load which hath ſince been laid " upon them: for it appears, by eſtimates given " in to your commons, that the ſums neceſſary to " carry on the ſervice for this preſent year, in " the ſame maner as it was performed the laſt " year, amount to more than ſix millions nine " hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, beſides in- " tereſt for the public debts, and the deficiencies " accruing the laſt year; which two articles re- " quire one million one hundred and forty-three " thouſand pounds more: ſo that the whole de- " mands upon your Commons are ariſen to more " than eight millions for the preſent annual ſup- " ply. We know your Majeſty's tender regard for " the welfare of your people, will make it uneaſy " to you to hear of ſo great a preſſure as this upon " them; and as we are aſſured, it will fully con- " vince your Majeſty of the neceſſity of our pre- " ſent inquiry; ſo we beg leave to repreſent to " you, from what cauſes, and by what ſteps, this " immenſe charge appears to have grown upon us.

" The ſervice at ſea, as it has been very large " and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it has been carried

" on,

" on, through the whole courſe of the war, in a
" manner highly diſadvantageous to your Majeſty
" and your kingdom: for, the neceſſity of affairs
" requiring that great fleets ſhould be fitted out
" every year, as well for the maintaining a ſupe-
" riority in the *Mediterranean*, as for oppoſing
" any force which the enemy might prepare, ei-
" ther at *Dunkirk*, or in the ports of *Weſt France*,
" your Majeſty's example and readineſs, in fit-
" ting out your proportion of ſhips, for all parts
" of that ſervice, have been ſo far from prevail-
" ing with the States-General to keep pace with
" you, that they have been deficient every year
" to a great degree, in proportion to what your
" Majeſty hath furniſhed; ſometimes no leſs
" than two-thirds, and generally more than half
" of their quota: from hence, your Majeſty has
" been obliged, for the preventing diſappoint-
" ments in the moſt preſſing ſervice, to ſupply
" thoſe deficiencies by additional reinforcements
" of your own ſhips; nor hath the ſingle in-
" creaſe of ſuch a charge been the only ill conſe-
" quence that attended it; for, by this means,
" the debt of the navy hath been enhanced, ſo
" that the diſcounts ariſing upon the credit of it
" have affected all other parts of the ſervice,
" from the ſame cauſe. Your Majeſty's ſhips of
" war have been forced in greater numbers to
" continue in remote ſeas, and at unſeaſonable
" times of the year, to the great damage and
" decay of the *Britiſh* navy. This alſo hath been
" the occaſion that your Majeſty hath been ſtrait-
" ened

"ened in your convoys for trade; your coaſts "have been expoſed, for want of a ſufficient "number of cruizers to guard them; and you "have been diſabled from annoying the enemy, "in their moſt beneficial commerce with the "*Weſt-Indies*, from whence they received thoſe "vaſt ſupplies of treaſure, without which, they "could not have ſupported the expences of this "war.

"That part of the war which hath been car-"ried on in *Flanders*, was at firſt immediately "neceſſary to the ſecurity of the States-General, "and hath ſince brought them great acquiſitions, "both of revenue and dominion; yet even there, "the original proportions have been departed "from, and, during the courſe of the war, have "been ſinking, by degrees, on the part of *Hol-"land*: ſo that, in this laſt year, we find the "number in which they fell ſhort of their three-"fifths, to your Majeſty's two-fifths, have been "twenty thouſand eight hundred and thirty-"ſeven men. We are not unmindful, that in "the year 1703, a treaty was made between the "two nations, for a joint augmentation of twen-"ty thouſand men, wherein the proportions were "varied, and *England* conſented to take half up-"on itſelf. But it having been annexed as an "expreſs condition to the grant of the ſaid aug-"mentation in parliament, that the States-Ge-"neral ſhould prohibit all trade and commerce "with *France*; and that condition having not "been performed by them, the Commons think it

" reaſonable, that the firſt rule, of three to two,
" ought to have taken place again, as well in that,
" as in other ſubſequent augmentations; more e-
" ſpecially when they conſider, that the revenues
" of thoſe rich provinces which have been con-
" quered, would, if they were duly applied,
" maintain a great number of new additional
" forces againſt the common enemy; notwith-
" ſtanding which, the States-General have raiſed
" none upon that account, but make uſe of thoſe
" freſh ſupplies of money, only to eaſe themſelves
" in the charge of their firſt eſtabliſhed quota.

" As in the progreſs of the war in *Flanders*, a
" diſproportion was ſoon created to the prejudice
" of *England*; ſo the very beginning of the war
" in *Portugal* brought an unequal ſhare of bur-
" den upon us; for although the Emperor and
" and the States-General were equally parties
" with your Majeſty in the treaty with the king
" of *Portugal*, yet the emperor neither furniſhing
" his third part of the troops and ſubſidies ſtipulat-
" ed for, nor the *Dutch* conſenting to take an e-
" qual ſhare of his Imperial Majeſty's defect upon
" themſelves, your Majeſty hath been obliged to
" furniſh two thirds of the entire expence created
" by that ſervice. Nor has the inequality ſtop-
" ped there; for ever ſince the year 1706, when
" the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* forces marched out of
" *Portugal* into *Caſtile*, the States-General have
" entirely abandoned the war in *Portugal*, and
" left your Majeſty to proſecute it ſingly at your
" own charge, which you have accordingly done,

" by

" by replacing a greater number of troops there,
" than even at firſt you took upon you to provide.
" At the ſame time, your Majeſty's generous en-
" deavours for the ſupport and defence of the
" King of *Portugal*, have been but ill ſeconded by
" that Prince himſelf; for notwithſtanding that
" by his treaty he had obliged himſelf to furniſh
" twelve thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe,
" upon his own account, beſides eleven thouſand
" foot, and two thouſand horſe more, in conſide-
" ration of a ſubſidy paid him; yet, according to
" the beſt information your commons can pro-
" cure, it appears, that he hath ſcarce at any time
" furniſhed thirteen thouſand men in the whole.

" In *Spain* the war hath been yet more une-
" qual and burthenſome to your Majeſty, than in
" any other branch of it; for being commenced
" without any treaty whatſoever, the allies have
" almoſt wholly declined taking any part of it
" upon themſelves. A ſmall body of *Engliſh* and
" *Dutch* troops were ſent thither in the year 1705,
" not as being thought ſufficient to ſupport a re-
" gular war, or to make the conqueſt of ſo large
" a country; but with a view only of aſſiſting the
" *Spaniards* to ſet King *Charles* upon the throne;
" occaſioned by the great aſſurances which were
" given of their inclinations to the houſe of *Au-*
" *ſtria*: but this expectation failing, *England* was
" inſenſibly drawn into an eſtabliſhed war, under
" all the diſadvantages of the diſtance of the place,
" and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The
" account we have to lay before your Majeſty,

" upon this head, is, that although the under-
" taking was entered upon at the particular and
" earneſt requeſt of the imperial court, and for a
" cauſe of no leſs importance and concern to
" them, than the reducing the *Spaniſh* monarchy
" to the houſe of *Auſtria*; yet neither the late
" emperors, nor his preſent imperial Majeſty,
" have ever had any forces there on their account,
" till the laſt year; and then, only one regiment
" of foot, conſiſting of two thouſand men.
" Though the States-General have contributed
" ſomething more to this ſervice, yet their ſhare
" alſo hath been inconſiderable; for in the ſpace
" of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclu-
" ſive, all the forces they have ſent into that
" country have not exceeded twelve thouſand two
" hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this
" time, they have not ſent any forces or recruits
" whatſoever. To your Majeſty's care and charge,
" the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a
" manner wholly left, as if none elſe were intereſt-
" ed or concerned in it. And the forces which your
" Majeſty hath ſent into *Spain*, in the ſpace of
" ſeven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclu-
" ſive, have amounted to no leſs than fifty-ſeven
" thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three men,
" beſides thirteen battalions and eight ſquadrons,
" for which your Majeſty hath paid a ſubſidy to
" the Emperor."

" How great the eſtabliſhed expence of a num-
" ber of men hath been, your Majeſty very well
" knows, and your commons very ſenſibly feel;

" but

" but the weight will be found much greater,
" when it is conſidered how many heavy articles
" of unuſual and extraordinary charge have at-
" tended this remote and difficult ſervice, all
" which have been entirely defrayed by your Ma-
" jeſty, except that one of tranſporting the few
" forces, which were ſent by the States-General,
" and the victualling of them, during their tranſ-
" portation only. The account delivered to
" your commons ſhew, that the charge of your
" Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels, employed in the
" ſervice of the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*, rec-
" koned after the rate of four pounds a man *per*
" month, from the time they ſailed from hence,
" till they returned, were loſt, or put upon other
" ſervices, hath amounted to ſix millions five
" hundred forty thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-
" ſix pounds fourteen ſhillings: the charge of
" tranſports on the part of *Great-Britain*, for
" carrying on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*,
" from the beginning of it till this time, hath a-
" mounted to one million three hundred thirty-
" ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and nineteen pounds
" nineteen ſhillings and eleven pence; that of
" victualling land-forces for the ſame ſervice, to
" five hundred eighty-three thouſand ſeven hun-
" dred and ſeventy pounds eight ſhillings and
" ſixpence; and that of contingencies, and other
" extraordinaries for the ſame ſervice, to one
" million eight hundred forty thouſand three
" hundred and fifty-three pounds.

" We ſhould take notice to your Majeſty of

" ſeveral ſums paid upon account of contingen-
" cies, and extraordinaries in *Flanders*, making
" together the ſum of one million one hun-
" dred ſeven thouſand and ninety-ſix pounds:
" but we are not able to make any compariſon of
" them, with what the States-General have ex-
" pended upon the ſame head, having no ſuch
" ſtate of their extraordinary charge before us.
" There remains therefore but one particular
" more for your Majeſty's obſervation, which a-
" riſes from the ſubſidies paid to foreign princes.
" Theſe, at the beginning of the war, were borne,
" in equal proportion, by your Majeſty and the
" States-General; but in this inſtance alſo, the
" balance hath been caſt in prejudice of your
" Majeſty: for it appears that your Majeſty hath
" ſince advanced more than your equal propor-
" tion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five
" thouſand crowns, beſides extraordinaries paid
" in *Italy*, and not included in any of the forego-
" ing articles, which ariſe to five hundred thirty-
" nine thouſand five hundred and fifty-three
" pounds.

" We have laid theſe ſeveral particulars before
" your Majeſty in the ſhorteſt manner we have
" been able; and by an eſtimate grounded on
" the preceding facts, it doth appear, that over
" and above the quotas on the part of *Great-Bri-*
" *tain*, anſwering to thoſe contributed by your al-
" lies, more than nineteen millions have been
" expended by your Majeſty, during the courſe
" of this war, by way of ſurpluſage, or exceed-
" ing

" ing in balance, of which none of the confede-
" rates have furniſhed any thing whatſoever.

" It is with very great concern, that we find ſo
" much occaſion given us, to repreſent how ill an
" uſe hath been made of your Majeſty's and your
" ſubjects zeal for the common cauſe; that the
" intereſt of that cauſe hath not been proportion-
" ably promoted by it, but others only have been
" eaſed at your Majeſty's and your ſubjects coſt,
" and have been connived at, in laying their part
" of the burden upon this kingdom, although
" they have upon all accounts been equally, and,
" in moſt reſpects, much more nearly concerned
" than *Britain* in the iſſue of the war. We are
" perſuaded your Majeſty will think it pardonable
" in us, with ſome reſentment to complain of the
" little regard, which ſome of thoſe, whom your
" Majeſty of late years entruſted, have ſhewn to
" the intereſts of their country, in giving way,
" at leaſt, to ſuch unreaſonable impoſitions upon
" it, if not in ſome meaſure contriving them.
" The courſe of which impoſitions hath been ſo
" ſingular and extraordinary, that the more the
" wealth of this nation hath been exhauſted, and
" the more your Majeſty's arms have been attend-
" ed with ſucceſs, the heavier hath been the
" burthen laid upon us; whilſt, on the other hand,
" the more vigorous your Majeſty's efforts have
" been, and the greater the advantages which
" have redounded thence to your allies, the more
" thoſe allies have abated in their ſhare of the
" expence.

" At

" At the firſt entrance into this war, the com-
" mons were induced to exert themſelves in the
" extraordinary manner they did, and to grant
" ſuch large ſupplies, as had been unknown to
" former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the
" miſchiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that,
" in which they were neceſſarily engaged, to a
" ſpeedy concluſion; but they have been very unhap-
" py in the event, whilſt they have ſo much reaſon
" to ſuſpect, that what was intended to ſhorten
" the war, hath proved the very cauſe of its long
" continuance; for thoſe to whom the profits of
" it have accrued, have not been diſpoſed eaſily
" to forego them. And your Majeſty will from
" thence diſcern *the true reaſon, why ſo many have*
" *delighted in a war, which brought in ſo rich an*
" *harveſt yearly from* Great Britain.

" We are far from deſiring, as we know your
" Majeſty will be from concluding any peace,
" but upon ſafe and honourable terms; and we
" are far from intending to excuſe ourſelves from
" raiſing all neceſſary and poſſible ſupplies for an
" effectual proſecution of the war, till ſuch a
" peace can be obtained: all that your faithful
" commons aim at, all that they wiſh, is an e-
" qual concurrence from the other powers, en-
" gaged in alliance with your Majeſty; and a juſt
" application of what hath been already gained
" from the enemy, towards promoting the com-
" mon cauſe. Several large countries and terri-
" tories have been reſtored to the houſe of *Au-*
" *ſtria*, ſuch as the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy
" of

" of *Milan*, and other places in *Italy*; others " have been conquered, and added to their domi- " nions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria* and " *Cologn*, the dutchy of *Mantua*, and the biſhopric " of *Liege*; theſe, having been reduced in great " meaſure by our blood and treaſure, may, we " humbly conceive, with great reaſon, be claimed " to come in aid towards carrying on the war in " *Spain*. And therefore we make it our earneſt " requeſt to your Majeſty, that you will give in- " ſtructions to your miniſters, to inſiſt with the " Emperor, that the revenues of thoſe ſeveral " places, excepting only ſuch a portion thereof " as is neceſſary for their defence, be actually ſo " applied; and as to the other parts of the war, " to which your Majeſty hath obliged yourſelf by " particular treaties to contribute, we humbly " beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed " to take effectual care, that your allies do per- " form their parts ſtipulated by thoſe treaties; " and that your Majeſty will, for the future, no " otherwiſe furniſh troops, or pay ſubſidies, than " in proportion to what your allies ſhall actually " furniſh and pay: when this juſtice is done to " your Majeſty, and to your people, there is no- " thing which your commons will not chearfully " grant, towards ſupporting your Majeſty in the " cauſe in which you are engaged. And what- " ever farther ſhall appear to be neceſſary for " carrying on the war, either at ſea or land, we " will effectually enable your Majeſty to bear " your reaſonable ſhare of any ſuch expence, and

" will

" will ſpare no ſupplies which your ſubjects
" able, with their utmoſt efforts, to afford.

" After having enquired into, and conſide
" the ſtate of the war, in which the part y
" Majeſty has borne, appears to have been,
" only ſuperior to that of any one ally, but e
" equal to that of the whole confederacy; y
" commons naturally inclined to hope, that t
" ſhould find, care had been taken of ſecur
" ſome particular advantages to *Britain*, in
" terms of a future peace; ſuch as might af
" a proſpect of making the nation amends,
" time, for that immenſe treaſure which
" been expended, and thoſe heavy debts wh
" have been contracted, in the courſe of ſo l
" and burthenſome a war. This reaſonable
" pectation could no way have been better
" ſwered, than by ſome proviſion made for
" further ſecurity, and the great improvemen
" the commerce of *Great-Britain*; but we
" ourſelves ſo very far diſappointed in theſe ho
" that in a treaty not long ſince concluded
" tween your Majeſty and the States-Gene
" under a colour of mutual guarantee, given
" two points of the greateſt importance to
" nations, the ſucceſſion, and the barrier; it
" pears, the intereſt of *Great-Britain* hath
" not only neglected, but ſacrificed; and tha
" veral articles in the ſaid treaty, are deſtruc
" to the trade and welfare of this kingdom,
" therefore highly diſhonourable to your Maj

" Your commons obſerve, in the firſt pl

"

" that ſeveral towns and places are, by virtue of " this treaty, to be put into the hands of the " States-General, particularly *Newport*, *Dender-* " *mond*, and the caſtle of *Ghent*, which can in no " ſenſe be looked upon as a part of a barrier a- " gainſt *France*, but, being the keys of the *Ne-* " *therlands* towards *Britain*, muſt make the trade " of your Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts preca- " rious, and, whenever the States think fit, totally " exclude them from it. The pretended neceſſity " of putting theſe places into the hands of the " States-General, in order to ſecure to them a " communication with their barrier, muſt ap- " pear vain and groundleſs; for the ſovereignty " of the *Low Countries* being not to remain to " an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that " communication muſt be always ſecure and un- " interrupted; beſides that, in caſe of a rupture, " or an attack, the ſtates have full liberty allow- " ed them to take poſſeſſion of all the *Spaniſh Ne-* " *therlands*, and therefore needed no particular " ſtipulation for the towns above-mentioned.

" Having taken notice of this conceſſion made " to the States-General for ſeizing upon the " whole ten provinces, we cannot but obſerve to " your Majeſty, that in the manner this article is " framed, it is another dangerous circumſtance " which attends this treaty; for had ſuch a pro- " viſion been confined to the care of an apparent " attack from *France* only, the avowed deſign of " this treaty had been fulfilled, and your Ma- " jeſty's inſtructions to your ambaſſador had

" been

" been purſued: but this neceſſary reſtrict
" hath been omitted, and the ſame liberty
" granted to the States, to take poſſeſſion of
" the *Netherlands*, whenever they ſhall th
" themſelves attacked by any other neighbour
" nation, as when they ſhall be in danger fr
" *France*; ſo that if it ſhould at any time h
" pen (which your commons are very unwill
" to ſuppoſe) that they ſhould quarrel, even w
" your Majeſty, the riches, ſtrength, and adv
" tageous ſituation of theſe countries, may
" made uſe of againſt yourſelf, without wh
" generous and powerful aſſiſtance they had
" ver been conquered.

" To return to thoſe ill conſequences which
" late to the trade of your kingdoms, we
" leave to obſerve to your Majeſty, that tho
" this treaty revives, and renders your Majeſ
" party to the fourteenth and fifteenth article
" the treaty of *Munſter*, by virtue of which,
" impoſitions upon all goods and merchandi
" brought into the *Spaniſh* low countries by
" ſea, are to equal thoſe laid on goods
" merchandizes imported by the *Scheld*, and
" canals of *Saſs* and *Swynn*, and other mou
" of the ſea adjoining; yet no care is take
" preſerve that equality upon the exportation
" thoſe goods out of the *Spaniſh* provinces, i
" thoſe countries and places, which, by virtu
" this treaty, are to be in poſſeſſion of the Sta
" the conſequence of which muſt in time
" and your commons are informed, that, in ſe
" inſtan

" inſtances, it has already proved to be the caſe,
" that the impoſitions upon goods carried into
" thoſe countries and places, by the ſubjects of
" the States-General, will be taken off, while
" thoſe upon the goods imported by your Ma-
" jeſty's ſubjects, remain: by which means,
" *Great-Britain* will entirely loſe this moſt bene-
" ficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages
" been poſſeſſed of, even from the time when
" thoſe countries were governed by the houſe of
" *Burgundy*, one of the moſt ancient, as well as
" the moſt uſeful allies to the crown of *England*.

" With regard to the other dominions and
" territories of *Spain*, your Majeſty's ſubjects have
" always been diſtinguiſhed in their commerce
" with them, and both by ancient treaties, and
" an uninterrupted cuſtom, have enjoyed greater
" privileges and immunities of trade, than either
" the *Hollanders*, or any other nation whatſoever.
" And that wiſe and excellent treaty of the
" grand alliance, provides effectually for the ſe-
" curity and continuance of theſe valuable privi-
" leges to *Britain*, in ſuch a manner, as that each
" nation might be left, at the end of the war, up-
" on the ſame foot as it ſtood at the commence-
" ment of it: but this treaty we now complain
" of, inſtead of confirming your ſubjects rights,
" ſurrenders and deſtroys them: for although by
" the ſixteenth and ſeventeeth articles of the
" treaty of *Munſter*, made between his Catholic
" Majeſty and the States General, all advantages
" of trade are ſtipulated for, and granted to the

" *Hollanders*, equal to what the *Engliſh* enjoyed
" yet the crown of *England* not being a party t
" that treaty, the ſubjects of *England* have nev
" ſubmitted to thoſe articles of it, nor even th
" *Spaniards* themſelves ever obſerved them; bu
" this treaty revives thoſe articles in prejudice o
" *Great-Britain*, and makes your Majeſty a part
" to them, and even a guarantee to the States
" General, for privileges againſt your own peopl
" In how deliberate and extraordinary a man
" ner your Majeſty's ambaſſador conſented to de
" prive your ſubjects of their ancient rights, an
" your Majeſty of the power of procuring to ther
" any new advantage, moſt evidently appears fro
" his own letters, which, by your Majeſty's direc
" tions, have been laid before your Commons
" for when matters of advantage to your Majeſty
" and to your kingdom, had been offered, as pro
" per to be made parts of this treaty, they were
" refuſed to be admitted by the States-General
" upon this reaſon and principle, that nothin
" foreign to the guarantees of the ſucceſſion, an
" of the barrier, ſhould be mingled with them
" notwithſtanding which, the States-Genera
" had no ſooner received notice of a treaty o
" commerce concluded between your Majeſty an
" and the preſent Emperor, but they departe
" from the rule propoſed before, and inſiſted up
" on the article of which your commons now com
" plain; which article your Majeſty's ambaſſado
" allowed of, although equally foreign to the ſuc
" ceſſion or the barrier, and although he had for tha
" reaſo

" reaſon departed from other articles, which would " have been for the ſervice of his own country.

" We have forborne to trouble your Majeſty " with general obſervations upon this treaty, as " it relates to and affects the empire, and other " parts of *Europe*. The miſchiefs which ariſe " from it to *Great-Britain*, are what only we " have preſumed humbly to repreſent to you, as " they are very evident, and very great: and as " it appears, that the Lord Viſcount *Townſend* " had not any orders, or authority, for conclud- " ing ſeveral of thoſe articles, which are moſt " prejudicial to your Majeſty's ſubjects; we have " thought we could do no leſs than declare your " ſaid ambaſſador, who negociated and ſigned, and " all others who adviſed the ratifying of this treaty, " enemies to your Majeſty and your kingdom.

" Upon theſe faithful informations, and ad- " vices from your Commons, we aſſure ourſelves " your Majeſty, in your great goodneſs to your " people, will reſcue them from thoſe evils, which " the private counſels of ill deſigning men have " expoſed them to; and that in your great wiſ- " dom you will find ſome means for the explain- " ing and amending the ſeveral articles of this " treaty, ſo as that they may conſiſt with the in- " tereſt of *Great-Britain*, and with real and laſt- " ing friendſhip between your Majeſty and the " States-General."

Between the repreſentation and the firſt debates upon the ſubject of it, ſeveral weeks had paſſed; during which time the parliament had other mat-

ters likewiſe before them, that deſerve to be mentioned. For on the ninth of *February* was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign proteſtants, which had been paſſed under the laſt miniſtry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purpoſes. By this act any foreigner who would take the oaths to the government, and profeſs himſelf a proteſtant of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *Engliſh*-born ſubject, at the expence of a ſhilling. Moſt proteſtants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; ſo that all the acquiſitions by this act would increaſe the number of diſſenters; and therefore the propoſal, that ſuch foreigners ſhould be obliged to conform to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, was rejected. But becauſe ſeveral perſons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I ſhall ſay a few words upon it.

The maxim, "That people are the riches of "a nation," hath been crudely underſtood by many writers and reaſoners upon that ſubject. There are ſeveral ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and ſubdued; and the conquerors ſeize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or ſervants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or deſtroyed, or the land uncultivated and waſte. In thoſe countries, where the lord of the ſoil is maſter of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of ſlaves bought by his money, mens riches are reckoned by the number

ber of their vaſſals. And ſometimes, in governments newly inſtituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all theſe caſes, the newcomers have either lands allotted them, or are ſlaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpleſs families, by thouſands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they ſhould be part of the property, as ſervants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the ſame thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the pariſh. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in ſuch a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftſmen and artificers, or ſuch who bring over a ſufficient ſhare of property to ſecure them from want; to enact and enforce ſumptuary laws againſt luxury, and all exceſſes in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, thoſe who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere conſequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many ſurmiſed, it had ſome other meaning, it appeared manifeſtly, by the iſſue, that the public was a loſer by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by ſuch an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unſightly and troubleſome, at beſt, and intercepts that nouriſh-

ment, which would otherwiſe diffuſe itſelf through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons ſent up a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that houſe, who ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs employments under the crown. Bills to the ſame effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progreſs, been rejected in former parliaments, by the court and miniſtry, who will ever be againſt ſuch a law, having uſually a greater influence in the houſe of lords, and ſo it happened now. Although that influence were leſs, I am apt to think that ſuch a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have ſo many corruptions in the reſt; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are ſufficient, by which ſeveral employments incapacitate a man from being choſen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I conſider the temper of particular perſons, and by what maxims they have acted (almoſt without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how ſuch a bill ſhould obtain a majority, unleſs every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the ſame time, likewiſe, the houſe of commons advanced one conſiderable ſtep towards ſecuring us againſt farther impoſitions from our allies, reſolving that the additional forces ſhould be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* ſhould

ſhould make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which thoſe confederates had ſo long, and in ſo great degree neglected. The Duke of *Marlborough*'s deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was alſo applied for carrying on the war.

Laſtly, within this period is to be included the act paſſed to prevent the diſturbing thoſe of the epiſcopal communion in *Scotland*, in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip, and in the uſe of the liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the moſt conſiderable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical diſcipline of thoſe ſynods and preſbyteries; and at the ſame time have the utmoſt contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was beſides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reaſon or juſtice, that diſſenters of every denomination here, who are the meaneſt and moſt illiterate part amongſt us, ſhould poſſeſs a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occaſion, be bold enough to inſult the religion eſtabliſhed, while thoſe of the epiſcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real perſecution. The only ſpecious objection againſt this bill was, that it ſet the religion by law, in both parts of the iſland, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the union; becauſe, by an act paſſed this very ſeſſion againſt occaſional conformity, our diſſenters were ſhut out from all employments. A petition from *Carſtairs*, and other *Scotch* profeſſors, againſt this bill,

bill, was offered to the houſe, but not accepted and a motion made by the other party, to receive clauſe, that ſhould reſtrain all perſons, who have an office in *Scotland*, from going to epiſcopal meetings paſſed in the negative. It is manifeſt, that th promoters of this clauſe were not moved by an regard for *Scotland*, which is by no means thei favourite at preſent; only they hoped, that, if i were made part of a law, it might occaſion ſuch a choice of repreſentatives in both houſes, fron *Scotland*, as would be a conſiderable ſtrength t their faction here. But the propoſition was in itſelf extremely abſurd, that ſo many lords, ani other perſons of diſtinction, who have great em ployments, penſions, poſts in the army, and othe places of profit, many of whom are in frequen or conſtant attendance at court, and utterly dif like their national way of worſhip, ſhould be de prived of their liberty of conſcience at home; no to mention thoſe who are ſent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, wh would ill digeſt the changing of their religion ſo that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the epiſ copal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of tha country were directed to bring in a bill for reſto ring the patrons to their ancient rights of preſent ing miniſters to the vacant churches there, whic the Kirk, during the height of their power, ha obtained for themſelves. And, to conclude thi ſubject at once, the Queen, at the cloſe of the ſeſ ſion, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to ac

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quaint the houſe, "That, purſuant to their addreſs, the profits ariſing from the biſhops eſtates in *Scotland*, which remained in the crown, ſhould be applied to the ſupport of ſuch of the epiſcopal clergy there, as would take the oaths to her Majeſty."

Nothing could more amply juſtify the proceedings of the Queen and her miniſters, for two years paſt, than that famous repreſentation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wiſdom of the nation, after the ſtricteſt inquiry, confirming thoſe facts upon which her Majeſty's counſels were grounded: and many perſons, who were before inclined to believe, that the Allies and the late miniſtry had been too much loaded by the malice, miſrepreſentations, or ignorance, of writers, were now fully convinced of their miſtake by ſo great an authority. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear doing juſtice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been ſecretary of war, for ſeveral years, under the former adminiſtration, where he had the advantage of obſerving how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of thoſe who ſhared in the preſent treaſurer's fortune, reſigning his employment at the ſame time; and upon that miniſter's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was ſome time after made ſecretary of ſtate. There he began afreſh, by the opportunities of his ſtation, to look into paſt miſcarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the ſcene of miſcarriages and corruptions through the whole courſe

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of the war, in ſo evident a manner, that the Houſe of Commons ſeemed principally directed in their reſolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a ſhort time after the repreſentation was publiſhed, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch* Gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the ſaid repreſentation, as well as the reſolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny ſome of the facts, and extenuate others. This memorial, tranſlated into *Engliſh*, a common writer of news had the boldneſs to inſert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the Houſe of Commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a falſe, ſcandalous malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into cuſtody.

It was the misfortune of the miniſters, that while they were baited by their profeſſed adverſaries of the diſcontented faction, acting in confederacy with emiſſaries of foreign powers, to break the meaſures her Majeſty had taken towards a peace, they met at the ſame time with frequent difficulties from thoſe who agreed and engaged with them to purſue the ſame general end; but ſometimes diſapproved the methods as too ſlack and remiſs, or, in appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, a conſiderable number of gentlemen, all members of the Houſe of Commons, began to meet by themſelves, and conſult what courſe they ought to ſteer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-

party

party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppoſe the court in any proceedings they diſliked. The whole body was of ſuch who profeſs what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcileable enemies to the late miniſtry and all its adherents. On the other ſide, conſidering the temper of the new men in power, that they were perſons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, thoſe gentlemen, who were impatient for an entire change, and to ſee all their adverſaries laid at once as low as the duſt, began to be apprehenſive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the leaſt precipitation, although the queen and her firſt miniſter had been diſpoſed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court ſeem at all uneaſy at this league, formed in appearance againſt it, but compoſed of honeſt gentlemen who wiſhed well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means: or, if ſuch a ſociety ſhould begin to grow reſty, nothing was eaſier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But in the courſe of that firſt ſeſſion, many of this ſociety became gradually reconciled to the new miniſtry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themſelves; and the attempt of *Guiſcard*, as it gained farther time for the deferring the diſpoſal of employments,

ployments, ſo it much endeared that perſon
the kingdom, who was ſo near falling a ſacr
to the ſafety of his country. Upon the laſt
ſion of which I am now writing, this *October*
(as it was called) renewed their uſual meeti
but were now very much altered from their
ginal inſtitution, and ſeemed to have wh
dropped the deſign, as of no further uſe. T
ſaw a point carried in the Houſe of Lords aga
the court, that would end in the ruin of
kingdom; and they obſerved the enemy's wl
artillery directly levelled at the treaſurer's h
In ſhort, the majority of the club had ſo good
underſtanding with the great men at court,
two of the latter, to ſhew to the world how f
correſpondence there was between the court
country-party, conſented to be at one of t
dinners; but this intercourſe had an event
different from what was expected: for imm
ately the more zealous members of that ſoc
broke off from the reſt, and compoſed a new
made up of gentlemen, who ſeemed to ex
little of the court; and perhaps, with a mix
of others who thought themſelves diſappoin
or too long delayed. Many of theſe were ob
ved to retain an incurable jealouſy of the trea
er, and to interpret all delays, which they c
not comprehend, as a reſerve of favour in this
niſter to the perſons and principles of the al
doned party.

Upon an occaſion offered about this ti
ſome perſons, out of diſtruſt to the treaſurer,

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deavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confuſion. A bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, appointing commiſſioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other intereſts granted by the crown ſince the thirteenth day of *February*, 1688, and upon what conſideration ſuch grants had been made. The united country-intereſt in the houſe was extremely ſet upon paſſing this bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppoſe all ſteps towards a reſumption of grants; and thoſe, who were apprehenſive that the treaſurer inclined the ſame way, propoſed the bill ſhould be tacked to another, for raiſing a fund by duties upon ſoap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether juſtly or no, as a favourite expedient of thoſe called the Tory party. At the ſame time it was very well known, that the Houſe of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous reſolution againſt giving their concurrence to the paſſing ſuch united bills: ſo that the conſequences of this project muſt have been, to bring the miniſtry under difficulties, to ſtop the neceſſary ſupplies, and endanger the good correſpondence between both houſes; notwithſtanding all which the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was inſtructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worſt that could happen would have followed, if the treaſurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reaſons, that the

means they were uſing would certainly diſappoint the end: that neither himſelf, nor any other of the Queen's ſervants, were at all againſt this enquiry; and he promiſed his utmoſt credit to help forward the bill in the Houſe of Lords. He prevailed at laſt to have it ſent up ſingle; but their lordſhips gave it another kind of reception. Thoſe who were of the ſide oppoſite to the court, withſtood it to a man, as in a party-caſe: among the reſt, ſome very perſonally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they ſuppoſed a ſufficient excuſe to be abſent, or diſſent. Even thoſe, whoſe grants were antecedent to this intended inſpection, began to be alarmed as men whoſe neighbours houſes are on fire. A ſhew of zeal for the late king's honour, occaſioned many reflections upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the maſk which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance againſt the Queen and her friends, acted conſiſtently enough with his deſign, by voting as a Lord againſt the bill, after he had directed his ſon in the Houſe of Commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miſcarried this popular bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine into royal grants; but whether thoſe chiefly concerned did rightly conſult their own intereſt, hath been made a queſtion, which, perhaps, time will reſolve. It was agreed, that the Queen, by her own authority, might have iſſued out a commiſſion for ſuch

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an inquiry; and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchaſe, and at the ſame time eſtabliſh the proprietors in poſſeſſion of the remainder for ever: ſo that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by ſuch an act, ſince the titles of thoſe lands, as they ſtood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for ſale or ſettlement. Beſides, the examples of the *Iriſh* forfeitures might have taught theſe precarious owners, that when the Houſe of Commons hath once engaged in a purſuit, which they think is right, although it be ſtopped or ſuſpended for a while, they will be ſure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: For inſtance, if the reſumption ſhould happen to be made part of a ſupply, which can be eaſily done, without the objection of a tack, the grantees might poſſibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not ſee how they could prevent it. Whether the reſuming of royal grants be conſiſtent with good policy or juſtice, would be too long a diſquiſition. Beſides, the profuſion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, becauſe there have been laws ſince made to provide againſt that evil; or, indeed, rather becauſe the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made againſt the date of the intended enquiry, was invidious and trifling; for King *James* II. made very few grants: he was a better manager; and ſquandering was none of

his faults: whereas, the late King, who came over here a perfect ſtranger to our laws, and our people, regardleſs of poſterity, wherein he was not likely to ſurvive, thought he could no way better ſtrengthen a new title, than by purchaſing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reaſonableneſs of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is uſually called tacking, hath been likeways much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the Commons firſt propoſed their grievances to be redreſſed, and then gave their aids; ſo that it was a perfect bargain between the King and the ſubject. This fully anſwered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occaſions which would hardly paſs at preſent: ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe for making the King's ſon a knight, marrying his eldeſt daughter, and ſome others of the like ſort. Moſt of the money went into the King's coffers for his private uſe; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence aroſe the form of the King's thanking his ſubjects for their benevolence, when any ſubſidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the ſupplies now granted, are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, becauſe they are all appropriated to their ſeveral uſes: ſo that, when the Houſe of Commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digeſted, if it be not paſſed, they put themſelves

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and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other ſide, there have been ſeveral regulations made, through the courſe of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected ſhall not be brought up again the ſame ſeſſion; whereby the Commons ſeem to have loſt the advantage of purchaſing a redreſs of their grievances, by granting ſupplies; which, upon ſome emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking: ſo that there is more to be ſaid on each ſide of the caſe, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myſelf in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this ſeſſion, we may juſtly number the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons with relation to the preſs, ſince her Majeſty's meſſage to the houſe, of *January* the 17th, concludes with a paragraph, repreſenting the great licences taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the miſchief. The meaning of theſe words, in the meſſage, ſeems to be confined to theſe weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the perſons and the management of the miniſtry. But the Houſe of Commons, in their addreſs, which anſwers this meſſage, makes an addition of the blaſphemies againſt God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legiſlature, than ſome effectual law for putting a ſtop to this univerſal miſchief: but, as the perſon

ſon * who adviſed the Queen in that part of her meſſage, had only then in his thoughts the redreſſing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the houſe, to have propoſed ſome ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing ſingle papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreſeen by many perſons, and hath ſince been found true by experience. For the adverſe party, full of rage and leiſure ſince their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cauſe, employ a ſet of writers by ſubſcription, who are well verſed in all the topics of defamation, and have a ſtyle and genius levelled to the generality of readers: while thoſe who would draw their pens on the ſide of their prince and country, are diſcouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinſic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not miſtaken, without example.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been ſuch, as to deſerve the ſevereſt animadverſions of the public; and it is to be wiſhed, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies, and ſhut our own, is a turn of politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps, the miniſtry now in poſſeſſion, becauſe they are in poſſeſſion, may deſpiſe ſuch trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do, upon a national

* Mr. Secretary *St. John*, now Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke*.

national intereſt, they may ſeem to ſtand in leſs need of ſuch ſupports, or may ſafely fling them down, as no longer neceſſary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very ſhort duration: and had not ſome active pens fallen in, to improve the good diſpoſitions of the people, upon the late change, and continued ſince to overthrow the falſhood, plentifully, and ſometimes not unplauſibly, ſcattered by the adverſaries, I am very much in doubt, whether thoſe at the helm would now have reaſon to be pleaſed with their ſucceſs. A particular perſon may, with more ſafety, deſpiſe the opinion of the vulgar, becauſe it does a wiſe man no real harm or good, but the adminiſtration a great deal; and whatever ſide has the ſole management of the pen, will ſoon find hands enow to write down their enemies as low as they pleaſe. If the people had no other idea of thoſe whom her Majeſty truſts in her greateſt affairs, than what is conveyed by the paſſions of ſuch as would compaſs ſea and land for their deſtruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How neceſſary therefore was it, that the world ſhould, from time to time, be undeceived, by true repreſentations of perſons and facts, which have kept the kingdom ſteady to its intereſt, againſt all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the miſchiefs of the preſs were too exorbitant to be cured, by ſuch a remedy, as a tax upon

upon the ſmaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it, was brought into the houſe of commons, but ſo late in the ſeſſion, that there was no time to paſs it; for there hath hitherto always appeared an unwillingneſs to cramp overmuch the liberty of the preſs, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the benefit propoſed by each party to themſelves, from the ſervice of their writers, towards recovering or preſerving of power, be thought to outweigh the diſadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the houſe till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clauſe inſerted, (whether induſtriouſly, with deſign to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, ſhould be ſet to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the leaſt regard to learning, would give his conſent to; for, beſides the objection to this clauſe, from the practice of pious men, who, in publiſhing excellent writings, for the ſervice of religion, have choſen, out of an humble Chriſtian ſpirit, to conceal their names, it is certain, that all perſons of true genius or knowledge, have an invincible modeſty and ſuſpicion of themſelves, upon their firſt ſending their thoughts into the world, and that thoſe who are dull or ſuperficial, void of all taſte and judgment, have diſpoſitions directly contrary; ſo that if this clauſe had made

part

part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning; and that inſufferable race of ſtupid people, who are now every day loading the preſs, would then reign alone, in time deſtroy our very firſt principles of reaſon, and introduce barbarity amongſt us, which is already kept out with ſo much difficulty, by ſo few hands.

Having given an account of the ſeveral ſteps made towards a peace, from the firſt overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion, I ſhall, in the fourth book, relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period laſt mentioned, to the preſent time; and becauſe there happened ſome paſſages in both houſes, occaſioned by the treaty, I ſhall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I ſhall cloſe this part of my ſubject.

The ſect of Quakers amongſt us, whoſe ſyſtem of religion, firſt founded upon enthuſiaſm, hath been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magiſtrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their ſect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themſelves on many occaſions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting

at

at elections, by a fooliſh ſcruple, which their obſtinacy would not ſuffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, theſe people had credit enough in the late reign, to have an act paſſed, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration ſhould be accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form. The great concern in thoſe times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of ſerving his country, upon account of a different belief in ſpeculative opinions, under which term people were apt to include every doctrine of Chriſtianity: however, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in conſtant dependence, and expired, of courſe, after a certain term, if it were not continued. Thoſe people had, therefore, very early in the ſeſſion, offered a petition to the houſe of commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not ſuffered to be brought up; upon this, they applied themſelves to the Lords, who paſſed a bill accordingly, and ſent it down to the commons, where it was not ſo much as allowed a firſt reading.

And, indeed, it is not eaſy to conceive, upon what motives the legiſlature of ſo great a kingdom could deſcend ſo low, as to be miniſterial and ſubſervient to the caprices of the moſt abſurd hereſy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where thoſe deluding or deluded people ſtand ſingular from all the reſt of mankind, who live under civil government: but the deſigns

of

of an aſpiring party, at that time, were not otherwiſe to be compaſſed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the church; and I am fully convinced, that if a ſect of ſceptic philoſophers (who profeſs to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with ſome corruptions of Chriſtianity, they might have obtained the ſame privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the ſolemn doubt of the people called ſceptics, ſhould have been accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form; ſo abſurd are all maxims formed upon the inconſiſtent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the ſtandard of truth and reaſon.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and thoſe of the enemy, preparing to aſſemble at *Utrecht*, on the firſt of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congreſs for negociating a general peace, wherein, although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the Queen, yet they ſet all their inſtruments at work, to inflame both houſes againſt her Majeſty's meaſures. Monſ. *Bothmar*, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and diſperſe his memorial, of which I have formerly ſpoken: *Hoffman*, the Emperor's reſident, was ſoliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over Prince *Eugene* at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great propoſals from

from the imperial court: the Earl of *Nottingham* became a convert, for reaſons already mentioned: money was diſtributed where occaſion required; and the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Marlborough*, together with the Earl of *Godolphin*, had put themſelves at the head of the junto, and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after, the vote paſſed the houſe of lords, for admitting into the addreſs the Earl of *Nottingham*'s clauſe, againſt any peace without *Spain*. Monſ. *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in all the conſultations with the diſcontented party for carrying that point, was deſired to meet with the Lord privy-ſeal, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, in order to ſign a treaty between the Queen and the States, to ſubſiſt after a peace. There the envoy took occaſion to expoſtulate upon the advantages ſtipulated for *Britain* with *France*; ſaid, "It was "his opinion, that thoſe miniſters ought, in re- "ſpect of the friendſhip between both nations, to "acquaint him what theſe advantages were; and "that he looked upon his country to be entitled, "by treaty, to ſhare them equally with us: that "there was now another reaſon why we ſhould "be more diſpoſed to comply with him upon this "head; for ſince the late reſolution of the houſe "of lords, he took it for granted, it would be a "dangerous ſtep in us to give *Spain* to a prince "of the houſe of *Bourbon*; and therefore, that "we ſhould do well to induce the States, by ſuch "a conceſſion, to help us out of this difficulty."

Mr.

Mr. *St. John* made anſwer, "That there was "not a man in the Queen's council capable of "ſo baſe a thought: that if *Buys* had any thing "to complain of, which was injurious to *Hol-* "*land*, or juſtly tending to hurt the good corre- "ſpondence between us and the States, he was "confident, her Majeſty would at all times be "ready to give it up; but that the miniſters "ſcorned to ſcreen themſelves at the expence of "their country: that the reſolution *Buys* men- "tioned, was chiefly owing to foreign miniſters "intermeddling in our affairs, and would per- "haps have an effect the projectors did not fore- "ſee: that, if the peace became impracticable, "the houſe of commons would certainly put the "war upon another foot, and reduce the public "expence within ſuch a compaſs as our treaties "required, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and as our pre- "ſent condition would admit; leaving the parti- "ſans for war to ſupply the reſt."

Although the ſecretary believed this anſwer would put an end to ſuch infamous propoſals, it fell out otherwiſe; for ſhortly after, Monſ. *Buys* applied himſelf to the treaſurer, promiſing to undertake, "That his maſters ſhould give up the "article of *Spain*, provided they might ſhare with "us in the Aſſiento for negroes." To which the treaſurer's anſwer was ſhort, "That he would "rather loſe his head, than conſent to ſuch an "offer."

It is manifeſt, by this proceeding, that whatever ſchemes were forming here at home, in this

juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the *Dutch* only deſigned to fall in with it, as far as it would anſwer their own account; and, by a ſtrain of the lower politics, wherein they muſt be allowed to excel every country in *Chriſtendom*, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the diſtreſs they themſelves had brought upon their neareſt neighbour and ally.

But the Queen highly reſented this indignity from a republic, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many obligations. She could not endure, that the *Dutch* ſhould employ their inſtruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to ſacrifice the ſafety of their prince and country, to the recovery of that power they had ſo long poſſeſſed and abuſed. Her Majeſty knew very well, that whatever were the miſtaken or affected opinion of ſome people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our miniſtry, "That the war in that "country was only our concern, and what their "republic had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excuſed in a profeſſed adverſary, fallen under diſgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very inſtant conferring new favours. Her Majeſty, therefore, thought it high time to exert herſelf, and at length put a ſtop to foreign influence upon *Britiſh* councils; ſo that, after the Earl of

Nottingham's

Nottingham's clauſe againſt any peace without *Spain*, was carried in the houſe of lords, directions were immediately ſent to the Earl of *Straſford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, "That "it was obtained by a trick, and would conſe- "quently turn to the diſappointment and confu- "ſion of the contrivers, and the actors." He was likewiſe inſtructed, to be very dry and reſerved to the penſionary and *Dutch* miniſters; to let them know, "The Queen thought herſelf ill "treated; and that they would ſoon hear what "effects thoſe meaſures would have upon a mild "and good temper, wrought up to reſentment by "repeated provocations: that the States might "have the war continued, if they pleaſed; but "that the Queen would not be forced to carry it "on after their manner, nor would ſuffer them "to make her peace, or to ſettle the intereſts of "her kingdoms."

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to ſay, "That "the States were upon a wrong ſcent: that their "miniſter here miſtook every thing that we had "promiſed: that we would perform all they could "reaſonably aſk from us, in relation to their bar- "rier and their trade; and that Monſ. *Buys* dealt "very unfairly, if he had not told them as much: "but that *Britain* proceeded, in ſome reſpects, "upon a new ſcheme of politics, would no long- "er ſtruggle for impoſſibilities, nor be amuſed "by words: that our people came more and more "to their ſenſes; and that the ſingle diſpute now

"was, whether the *Dutch* would join with a fac-
"tion, againſt the Queen, or with the nation,
"for her."

The court likewiſe reſolved to diſcourage Prince *Eugene* from his journey to *England*, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have ſpoken before. He was told, "That the "Queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the "war; but the project of it ſhould be agreed a-"broad, upon which her Majeſty's reſolutions "might ſoon be ſignified; but until ſhe ſaw what "the Emperor and allies were ready to do, ſhe "would neither promiſe nor engage for any "thing." At the ſame time, Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*, the Emperor's reſident here, "That if "the prince had a mind to divert himſelf in *Lon-*"*don*, the miniſters would do their part to enter-"tain him, and be ſure to trouble him with no "manner of buſineſs."

This coldneſs retarded the prince's journey for ſome days, but did not prevent it, although he had a ſecond meſſage by the Queen's order, with this farther addition, "That his name had late-"ly been made uſe of, on many occaſions, to "create a ferment, and ſtir up ſedition; and that "her Majeſty judged it would be neither ſafe for "him, nor convenient for her, that he ſhould "come over at this time." But all would not do: it was enough, that the Queen did not abſolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and domeſtic, thought his preſence would be highly neceſſary for their ſervice.

Towards

Towards the end of *December*, the Lord Privy-Seal * ſet out for *Holland*. He was ordered to ſtop at the *Hague*, and, in conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her Majeſty's name, "her reſolutions to conclude "no peace, wherein the allies in general, and "and each confederate in particular, might not "find their ample ſecurity, and their reaſonable "ſatisfaction: that ſhe was ready to inſiſt upon "their barrier, and advantages in their trade, in "the manner the States themſelves ſhould de-"ſire; and to concert with them ſuch a plan of "treaty, as both powers might be under mutual "engagements never to recede from: that no-"thing could be of greater importance, than for "the miniſters of *Great Britain* and *Holland* to "enter the congreſs, under the ſtricteſt ties "of confidence, and entirely to concur through-"out the courſe of theſe negociations. To which "purpoſe, it was her Majeſty's pleaſure, that "their lordſhips ſhould adjuſt, with the *Dutch* "miniſters, the beſt manner and method for o-"pening and carrying on the conferences, and "declare themſelves inſtructed to communicate "freely their thoughts and meaſures to the ple-"nipotentiaries of the States, who, they hoped, "had received the ſame inſtructions."

Laſtly, the two Lords were to ſignify to the penſionary, and the other miniſters, "That her Majeſty's preparations for the next campaign, were carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour, which

* Dr. *Robinſon*, biſhop of *Briſtol*.

the preſent circumſtances would allow; and to inſiſt, that the ſame might be done by the States, and that both powers ſhould join in preſſing the Emperor, and other Allies, to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the war muſt languiſh, and the terms of peace become every day more diſadvantageous."

The two *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large inſtructions, and, after the uſual manner, were to make much higher demands from *France* (at leaſt in behalf of the Allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The ſum of what they had in charge, beſides matter of form, was, to concert with the miniſters of the ſeveral powers engaged againſt *France*, "That all differences ariſing among them ſhould be accommodated between themſelves, without ſuffering the *French* to interfere: That whatever were propoſed to *France* by a miniſter of the alliance, ſhould be backed by the whole confederacy: That a time might be fixed for the concluſion, as there had been for the commencement of the treaty." *Spain* was to be demanded out of the hands of the *Bourbon* family, as the moſt effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with *France*; and whatever conditions the Allies could agree upon for hindering that union, their Lordſhips were peremptorily to inſiſt on.

As the intereſts of each Ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to demand "*Straſburgh*, the fort of *Kehl*, with its dependencies, and the town of *Briſac*, with its territory, for the

the Emperor: That *France* ſhould poſſeſs *Alſatia*, according to the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, with the right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: That the fortifications of the ſaid ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the ſaid treaty, except *Landau*, which was to be demanded for the Emperor and Empire, with liberty of demoliſhing the fortifications: That the *French* King ſhould, at a certain time, and at his own expence, demoliſh the fortreſſes of *Huningen*, *New Briſac*, and fort *Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

"That the town and fortreſs of *Rhinfelt* ſhould be demanded for the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, until that matter be otherwiſe ſettled.

"That the clauſe relating to religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and contrary to that of *Weſtphalia*, ſhould be annulled, and the ſtate of religion in *Germany* reſtored to the tenor of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*.

"That *France* ſhould acknowledge the King of *Pruſſia*, and give him no diſturbance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*: That the principality of *Orange*, and other eſtates belonging to the late King *William*, ſhould be reſtored, as law ſhould direct.

"That the Duke of *Hanover* ſhould be acknowledged Elector.

"That the King of *Portugal* ſhould enjoy all the advantages ſtipulated between him and the Allies.

"That the States ſhould have for their barrier, *Furnes*, Fort *Knock*, *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *Maubeuge*, *Douay*, *Bethune* *Avie*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, with their cannon,

non, &c. That the *French* King ſhould reſtore all the places belonging to *Spain*, now or during this war in his poſſeſſion in the *Netherlands*: That ſuch part of them as ſhould be thought fit, might be allowed likewiſe for a barrier to the States: That *France* ſhould grant the tariff of 1664 to the States, and exemption of fifty pence *per* tun upon *Dutch* goods trading to that kingdom.

"But that theſe articles in favour of the States ſhould not be concluded, till the barrier-treaty were explained to the Queen's ſatisfaction.

"That the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all taken from him in this war, and enjoy the places yielded to him by the Emperor, and other Allies: That *France* ſhould likewiſe yield to him *Exilles*, *Feneſtrelles*, *Chaumont*, the valley of *Pregata*, and the land lying between *Piedmont* and mount *Genu*.

"That the article about demoliſhing of *Dunkirk* ſhould be explained."

As to *Britain*, the plenipotentiaries were to inſiſt, "That *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, *Ghent*, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather againſt *England* than *France*, ſhould either not be given to the *Dutch*, or at leaſt in ſuch a manner, as not to hinder the Queen's ſubjects free paſſage to and from the *Low-Countries*.

"That the ſeventh article of the Barrier-treaty, which empowers the States, in caſe of an attack, to put troops at diſcretion in all the places of

of the *Low-Countries*, ſhould be ſo explained as to be underſtood only of an attack from *France*.

"That *Britain* ſhould trade to the *Low-Countries* with the ſame privileges as the States themſelves.

"That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould acknowledge the ſucceſſion of *Hanover*, and immediately oblige the Pretender to leave *France*; and that the ſaid King ſhould promiſe, for himſelf and his heirs, never to acknowledge any perſon for King or Queen of *England*, otherwiſe than according to the ſettlements now in force.

"That a treaty of commerce ſhould be commenced, as ſoon as poſſible, between *France* and *Britain*; and, in the mean time, the neceſſary points relating to it be ſettled.

"That the Iſle of *St. Chriſtopher's* ſhould be ſurrendered to the Queen, *Hudſon's* bay reſtored, *Placentia* and the whole iſland of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain*, by the moſt Chriſtian King; who was likewiſe to quit all claim to *Nova Scotia*, and *Annapolis Royal*.

"That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* ſhould be annexed to the *Britiſh* crown.

"That the Aſſiento ſhould be granted to *Britain* for thirty years, with the ſame advantage as to *France*; with an extent of ground on the river of *Plata*, for keeping and refreſhing the negroes.

"That *Spain* ſhould grant to the ſubjects of *Britain* as large privileges as to any other nation whatſoever; as likewiſe an exemption of duties, amounting

amounting to an advantage of at leaſt fifteen *cent.*

"That ſatisfaction ſhould be demanded for ſhould appear to be juſtly due to her Ma from the Emperor and the States.

"Laſtly, That the plenipotentiaries ſh conſult with thoſe of the proteſtant Allies, moſt effectual methods for reſtoring the pr tants of *France* to their religious and civil l ties, and for the immediate releaſe of thoſe are now in the galleys."

What part of theſe demands were to be in on, and what were to be given up, will a by the ſequel of this negociation. But there no difficulty, of moment enough, to retard peace, except a method for preventing the u of *France* and *Spain* under one prince, and ſettling the barrier for *Holland*; which laſ claimed by the States, could, in prudence ſafety, be no more allowed by us than by *Fr*

The States-General having appointed M *Buys* to be one of their plenipotentiaries at *recht*, that miniſter left *England* a few days the Lord Privy-Seal. In his laſt conference the Lords of the council, he abſolutely decl "That his maſters had done their utmoſt, "by ſea and land: That it was unreaſonal "expect more: That they had exceeded "proportion, even beyond *Britain*; and th "to the Emperor, and other allies, he kne "expedient left for making them act with

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"vigour, than to purſue them with pathetical ex-
"hortations."

This miniſter was ſent over hither, inſtructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raiſed by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a conſtant fellow-labourer to the utmoſt of his ſkill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negociating well for *Holland* at the expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own country, and worſe for the common cauſe. However the Queen's miniſters and he parted with the greateſt civility; and her Majeſty's preſent was double the value of what is uſual to the character he bore.

As the Queen was determined to alter her meaſures in making war, ſo ſhe thought nothing would ſo much convince the States of the neceſſity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this reſolution, which her ambaſſador *Strafford*, then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directed to do: And if they ſhould object, of what ill conſequence it would be for the enemy to know her Majeſty deſigned to leſſen her expences, he might anſwer, "That the miniſters here "were ſorry for it; but the *Dutch* could only "blame themſelves, for forcing into ſuch a ne-"ceſſity a princeſs, to whoſe friendſhip they ow-"ed the preſervation and grandeur of their re-"public, and chuſing to lean on a broken faction, "rather than place their confidence in the "Queen."

It

. It was her Majeſty's earneſt deſire, that ſhould be a perfect agreement at this treat tween the miniſters of all the Allies; than nothing could be more effectual to make comply with their juſt demands: Above al directed her plenipotentiaries to enter int ſtricteſt confidence with thoſe of *Holland* that, after the States had conſented to e the Barrier-Treaty to her reaſonable ſatisfa both powers ſhould form between them a p general peace, from which they would n cede, and ſuch as might ſecure the quiet o *rope*, as well as the particular intereſts of confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly preſſed, befo congreſs opened, to come to ſome temper upon that famous treaty; becauſe the mi here expected it would be ſoon laid befor Houſe of Commons, by which the reſentme the nation would probably appear againſt who had been actors and adviſers in it Monſ. *Buys*, who uſually ſpoke for his colle was full of oppoſition, began to expoſ upon the advantages *Britain* had ſtipulated *France*, and to inſiſt, that his maſters oug ſhare equally in them all, but eſpeciall Aſſiento contract: So that no progreſs was in fixing a previous good correſpondence be *Britain* and the States, which her Majeſty h earneſtly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed for avoiding of ceremony and other inconve

cies, the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the twenty-ninth of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The miniſters of the allies going into the town-houſe at one door, and thoſe of *France*, at the ſame inſtant, at another, they all took their ſeats without diſtinction; and the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Lord Privy-Seal, firſt plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the aſſembly with a ſhort ſpeech, directed to the miniſters of *France*, in words to the following effect:

"Meſſieurs,

"We are here met to-day in the name of God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace, between the high Allies and the King your maſter. We bring ſincere intentions, and expreſs orders from our ſuperiors, to concur on their part, with whatever may advance and perfect ſo ſalutary and chriſtian a work. On the other ſide, we hope you have the ſame diſpoſition; and that your orders will be ſo full, as to be able, without loſs of time, to anſwer the expectation of the high Allies, by explaining yourſelves clearly and roundly upon the points we ſhall have to ſettle in theſe conferences; and that you will perform this in ſo plain and ſpecific a manner, as every Prince and State in the confederacy may find a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction."

The *French* began, by promiſing to explain the overtures, which Monſ. *Meſnager* had delivered to the Queen ſome months before, and to give in a ſpecific project of what their maſter would yield, provided the Allies would each give a ſpecific anſwer,

by making their ſeveral demands; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays of the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmoſt diſcontent, ſeen her Majeſty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themſelves, began to diſcover their ill-humour upon every occaſion; they raiſed endleſs difficulties about ſettling the Barrier-Treaty, as the Queen deſired; and in one of the firſt general conferences, they would not ſuffer the *Britiſh* ſecretary to take the minutes, but nominated ſome *Dutch* profeſſor for that office, which the Queen refuſed, and reſented their behaviour as an uſeleſs cavil, intended only to ſhew their want of reſpect. The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries had great reaſon to ſuſpect that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in ſome ſeparate meaſures with *France*, by the intervention of one *Maleau*, a buſy factious agent at *Amſterdam*, who had been often employed in ſuch intrigues: that this was the cauſe which made them ſo litigious and ſlow in all their ſteps, in hopes to break the congreſs, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* miniſters did alſo apply themſelves, with induſtry, to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to ſecure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, in caſe thoſe dominions could be procured for the Emperor: For this reaſon, they avoided ſettling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries

plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her Majeſty deſired; and Monſ. *Buys* plainly told their Lordſhips, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could conſent to, before the States were admitted equal ſharers with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*.

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for preſſing thoſe of the States to adjuſt the groſs inequalities of the Barrier-Treaty, ſince nothing was more uſual or agreeable to reaſon, than for princes, who find themſelves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they ſhould be modified and explained. And ſince it now appeared by votes in the houſe of commons, that the ſenſe of the nation agreed with what her Majeſty deſired, if the *Dutch* miniſters would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordſhips were directed to improve and amend the particular conceſſions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a treaty; for the Queen was determined never to allow the States any ſhare in the Aſſiento, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; nor could think it reaſonable, that they ſhould be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conqueſt whereof they had contributed ſo little.

Nor was the conduct of the Imperial miniſter at this time leſs perplexing than that of the States, both thoſe powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or, upon forcing from the Queen thoſe advantages ſhe expec-

ted by it for her own kingdoms. Her Majeſty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to ſend Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the treaſurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. *Harley* ſtopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the Penſionary, "That nothing had happened lately in *England*, but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other miniſters of the Allies: That the proceedings of the houſe of commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, muſt chiefly be aſcribed to the manner in which the Queen and the nation had been treated by Monſieur *Bothmar*, Count *Gallas*, *Buys*, and other foreign miniſters: That if the States would yet enter into a ſtrict union with the Queen, give her ſatisfaction in the ſaid treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a ſafe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwiſe, her Majeſty muſt ſave her own country, and join with ſuch of her Allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the Allies, and their oppoſition to the Queen, by private intrigues carried on among her own ſubjects, as well as by open remonſtrances, had made the houſe of commons take that matter out of the hands of the miniſters.

"Laſtly, that in caſe the preſent treaty were broken off by the *Dutch* refuſing to comply, her Majeſty thought it reaſonable to inſiſt, that ſome cautionary

cautionary places be put into her hands, as pledges that no other negociation ſhould be entered into by the States-General, without her participation."

Mr. Harley's inſtructions to the Queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they ſhould preſs thoſe of *France*, to open themſelves as far as poſſible, in concerting ſuch a plan of a general peace, as might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all the Confederates, and ſuch as her parliament would approve: That the people of *England* believed *France* would conſent to ſuch a plan; wherein, if they have found themſelves deceived, they would be as eager for proſecuting the war as ever."

Their Lordſhips were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, "That no extremity ſhould make her Majeſty depart from inſiſting to have the Aſſiento for her own ſubjects, and to keep *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; but if the States would agree with her upon theſe three heads, ſhe would be content to reduce the trade of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, to the condition it was in under the late Catholic King *Charles* II."

The *French* were farther to be preſſed, "That the Pretender ſhould be immediately ſent out of that kingdom; and that the moſt effectual method ſhould be taken, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince."

About this time, her Majeſty's miniſters, and thoſe of the Allies, at *Utrecht*, delivered in the ſeveral poſtulata, or demands of their maſters to the *French* plenipotentiaries, which having been

ſince made public, and all of them, except thoſe of *Britain*, very much varying in the courſe of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a tranſcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the laſt Dauphin's death, the father, ſon, and grandſon, all of that title, dying within the compaſs of a year, Monſieur *Gualtier* went to *France* with letters to the Marquis of *Torcy* to propoſe her Majeſty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the moſt important article to be ſettled, in order to ſecure peace for *Europe*, ſo it was a point that required to be ſpeedily adjuſted under the preſent circumſtances and ſituation of the *Bourbon* family, there being only left a child of two years old to ſtand between the Duke of *Anjou* and his ſucceeding to the crown of *France*.

Her Majeſty likewiſe preſſed *France* by the ſame diſpatches, to ſend full inſtructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the Allies ſuch a plan of peace, as might give reaſonble ſatisfaction to all her Allies.

The Queen's propoſal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain*, was, "That *Philip* ſhould formally renounce the kingdom of *France* for himſelf and his poſterity; and this renunciation ſhould be confirmed by the courts or ſtates of *Spain*, who, without queſtion, would heartily concur againſt ſuch an union, by which their country muſt become a province to *France*." In like manner,

manner, the *French* princes of the blood were ſeverally to renounce all title to *Spain*.

The *French* raiſed many difficulties upon ſeveral particulars of this expedient; but the Queen perſiſted to refuſe any plan of peace before this weighty point were ſettled in the manner ſhe propoſed, which was afterwards ſubmitted to, as in proper place we ſhall obſerve. In the mean time, the negociation at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very ſlow pace; the *Dutch* interpoſing all obſtructions they could contrive, refuſing to come to any reaſonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the Queen, for a general peace. Nothing leſs would ſatisfy them, than the partaking in thoſe advantages we had ſtipulated for ourſelves, and which did no ways interfere with their trade or ſecurity. They ſtill expected ſome turn in *England*; their friends on this ſide had ventured to aſſure them that the Queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad ſtate of her Majeſty's health, was reaſonable to expect. The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries daily diſcovered new endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, laſtly, thoſe among the States, who deſired the war ſhould continue, ſtrove to gain time, until the campaign ſhould open; and, by reſolving to enter into action with the firſt opportunity, render all things deſperate, and break up the congreſs.

This ſcheme did exactly fall in with Prince *Eugene*'s diſpoſitions, whom the States had choſen for their general, and of whoſe conduct, in this conjuncture,

conjuncture, the Queen had ſo much reaſon
jealous; but her Majeſty, who was reſolv
do her utmoſt towards putting a good and ſ
end to this war, having placed the Duke o
mond at the head of her forces in *Flanders*,
ther he was now arrived, directed him to
all the troops in *Britiſh* pay, whether ſubje
foreigners, immediately under his own comm
and to be cautious, for a while, in engagi
any action of importance, unleſs upon a ver
parent advantage. At the ſame time, the Q
determined to make one thorough trial of th
poſition of the States, by allowing them th
moſt conceſſions that could any way ſuit e
with her ſafety or honour. She therefore dir
her miniſters at *Utrecht*, to tell the *D*
"That, in order to ſhew how deſirous ſhe w
"live in perfect amity with that Republic
"would reſign up the fifteen *per cent.* adva
"upon *Engliſh* goods ſent to the *Spaniſh* d
"nions, which the *French* King had offere
"by a power from her grandſon, and be
"tent to reduce that trade to the ſtate in w
"it was under the late King of *Spain*. She w
"accept of any tolerable ſoftening of thoſe w
"in the ſeventh article of the Barrier-tr
"where it is ſaid, the States ſhall have po
"in caſe of an apparent attack, to put as r
"troops as they pleaſe into all the places o
"*Netherlands*, without ſpecifying an attack
"the ſide of *France*, as ought to have been d
"otherwiſe, the Queen might juſtly think

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" were preparing themſelves for a rupture with " *Britain*. Her Majeſty likewiſe conſented that " the States ſhould keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, " and the caſtle of *Ghent*, as an addition to their " Barrier, although ſhe were ſenſible how injuri- " ous thoſe conceſſions would be to the trade of " her ſubjects; and would wave the demand of " *Oſtend* being delivered into her hands, which ſhe " might with juſtice inſiſt on. In return of all " this, that the Queen only deſired the miniſters " of the States would enter into a cloſe correſ- " pondence with hers, and ſettle between them " ſome plan of a general peace, which might " give reaſonable content to all her Allies, and " which her Majeſty would endeavour to bring " *France* to conſent to. She deſired the trade of " her kingdoms to the *Netherlands*, and to the " towns of their barrier, might be upon as " good a foot as it was before the war began: " That the *Dutch* would not inſiſt to have a ſhare " in the Aſſiento, to which they had not the leaſt " pretenſions; and that they would no longer en- " courage the intrigues of a faction againſt her " government. Her Majeſty aſſured them, in " plain terms, that her own future meaſures, " and the conduct of her plenipotentiaries, ſhould " be wholly governed by their behaviour in theſe " points; and that her offers were only conditi- " onal, in caſe of their compliance with what ſhe " deſired."

But all theſe proofs of the Queen's kindneſs and ſincerity would not avail. The *Dutch* miniſters

ſters pleaded, they had no power to concert the plan of general peace with thoſe of *Britain*: however, they aſſured the latter, that the Aſſiento was the only difficulty which ſtuck with their maſters. Whereupon, at their deſire, a contract for that traffic was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well ſatisfied, and ſaid, they would go to the *Hague* for further inſtructions. Thither they went; and, after a week's abſence, returned the ſame anſwer, "That they had no "power to ſettle a ſcheme of peace; but could "only diſcourſe of it, when the difficulties of the "Barrier-treaty were over." And Monſ. *Buys* took a journey to *Amſterdam*, on purpoſe to ſtir up that city, where he was penſionary, againſt yielding the Aſſiento to *Britain*; but was unſucceſsful in his negociation; the point being yielded up there, and in moſt other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd ſound in hiſtory, and appear hardly credible, that in ſeveral petty republics of ſingle towns, which made up the States-General, it ſhould be formally debated, whether the Queen of *Great Britain*, who preſerved the commonwealth, at the charge of ſo many millions, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain*, of ſelling *African* ſlaves in the *Spaniſh* dominions of *America*. But there was a prevailing faction at the *Hague*, violently bent againſt any peace, where the Queen muſt act that part which they had intended for themſelves. Theſe politicians, who held conſtant correſpondence with their old dejected friends in *England*,

England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the Queen's death, or the party's reſtoration. They likewiſe endeavoured to ſpin out the time, till Prince *Eugene*'s activity had puſhed on ſome great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace: therefore, the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the inſtructions of thoſe miſtaken patriots, acted in every point with a ſpirit of litigiouſneſs, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a ſtrict union between the allies, but eſpecially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtleſs the only means for procuring ſafe and honourable terms from *France*.

But neither was this the worſt; for the Queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a ſeparate correſpondence with *France*. And by letters, intercepted here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the imperial court, whoſe miniſters were in the utmoſt confidence with thoſe of *Holland*, expreſſed the moſt furious rage againſt her Majeſty, for the ſteps ſhe had taken to advance a peace.

This unjuſtifiable treatment, the Queen could not digeſt from an ally, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many ſignal obligations, whom ſhe had uſed with ſo much indulgence and ſincerity, during the whole courſe of the negociation, and had ſo often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewiſe, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be ſecure of eaſier conditions

conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She reſolved, therefore, on this occaſion to exert herſelf with vigour, ſteadineſs, and diſpatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, ſent her commands to the Earl of *Strafford*, to repair immediately to *England*, in order to conſult with her miniſters what was proper to be done.

The propoſal above-mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; Monſ. *de Torcy* raiſing objections againſt ſeveral parts of it. But the Queen refuſed to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty point were fully ſettled to her ſatisfaction; after which, ſhe promiſed to grant a ſuſpenſion of arms, provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a pledge into her hands: and propoſed that *Ipres* might be ſurrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would conſent to come into the ſuſpenſion. *France* abſolutely refuſed the latter; and the States-General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her Majeſty, ſhe preſſed that matter no farther; becauſe ſhe doubted they would not agree to a ceſſation of arms. However, ſhe reſolved to put a ſpeedy end, or at leaſt intermiſſion, to her own ſhare in the war: and the *French* having declared themſelves ready to agree to her expedients, for preventing the union of the two crowns, and conſented to the delivery of *Dunkirk*; poſitive orders were ſent to the Duke of *Ormond*, to avoid engaging in any battle or ſiege, until he had further

ther inſtructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the beſt excuſes he could, if any preſſing occaſion ſhould offer.

The reaſons for this unuſual proceeding, which made a mighty noiſe, were of ſufficient weight to juſtify it; for, purſuant to the agreement made between us and *France*, a courier was then diſpatched from *Fontainbleau* to *Madrid*, with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*, either of reſigning *Spain* immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of ſucceeding to *France*, and ſome preſent advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needleſs to dilate on; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future claim to *France*, for himſelf and his poſterity.

Until it could be known which part *Philip* would accept, the Queen would not take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, nor ſuffer an armiſtice to be declared. But, however, ſince the moſt Chriſtian King had agreed, that his grandſon ſhould be forced, in caſe of a refuſal, to make his choice immediately, her Majeſty could not endure to think, that perhaps ſome thouſands of lives of her own ſubjects and allies might be ſacrificed, without neceſſity, if an occaſion ſhould be found or ſought for fighting a battle; which, ſhe very well knew, Prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into confuſion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new maſters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the Duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other quality that can accompliſh or adorn a great

man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his anceſtors, found it very difficult to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion; for Prince *Eugene*, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or beſieging *Queſnoy*, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the Duke had received thoſe orders from court, it was propoſed to his Grace, at a meeting with the Prince and deputies, that the *French* army ſhould be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with ſucceſs: for the Mareſchal *de Villars*, who had notice ſent him by Monſ. *de Torcy*, of what was paſſing, and had ſignified the ſame by a trumpet to the Duke, ſhewed leſs vigilance than was uſual to that general, taking no precautions to ſecure his camp, or obſerve the motions of the allies, probably on purpoſe to provoke them. The Duke ſaid, "That the Earl of *Strafford*'s ſudden departure "for *England*, made him believe there was ſome-"thing of conſequence now tranſacting, which "would be known in four or five days; and "therefore, deſired they would defer this, or any "other undertaking, until he could receive freſh "letters from *England*." Whereupon the Prince and deputies immediately told the Duke, "That "they looked for an anſwer as he had given "them: that they had ſuſpected our meaſures "for ſome time; and their ſuſpicions were con-"firmed, by the expreſs his Grace had ſo late-

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"ly received, as well as by the negligence of "Monſ. *Villars*." They appeared extremely diſſatisfied: and the deputies told the Duke, that they would immediately ſend an account of his anſwer to their maſters, which they accordingly did; and ſoon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expoſtulating letter, in a ſtyle leſs reſpectful than became them; deſiring him, among other things, to explain himſelf, whether he had poſitive orders not to fight the *French*; and afterwards told him, "They were ſure he "had ſuch orders, otherwiſe he could not anſwer "what he had done." But the Duke ſtill waved the queſtion, ſaying, "He would be glad to "have letters from *England*, before he entered "upon action, and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the miniſters and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, venting their fury in very violent expreſſions againſt the Queen, and thoſe ſhe employed in her councils; ſaid, they were betrayed by *Britain*, and aſſumed the countenance of thoſe who think they have received an injury, and were diſpoſed to return it.

The Duke of *Ormond*'s army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand of her Majeſty's ſubjects, and about thirty thouſand hired from other princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the court of the diſpoſitions he found among the foreign generals upon this occaſion; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the

Britiſh troops adhering to him; thoſe of *Hanover* having already determined to deſert to the *Dutch*, and tempted the *Danes* to do the like; and that he had reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſame of the reſt.

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the Duke of *Ormond* had refuſed to engage in any action againſt the enemy, the *Dutch* miniſters there, went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-ſeal; aggravating the ſtrangeneſs of this proceeding, together with the conſequence of it, in the loſs of a moſt favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the diſcontent it muſt needs create in the whole body of the confederates: adding, how hard it was, that they ſhould be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which ſo nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the Duke muſt needs have acted by orders; and deſired his lordſhip to write both to court, and to his Grace, what they had now ſaid.

The biſhop anſwered, "That he knew nothing "of this fact, but what they had told him; and "therefore, was not prepared with a reply to "their repreſentations; only, in general, he could "venture to ſay, that this caſe appeared very like "the conduct of their field-deputies upon for-"mer occaſions: that if ſuch orders were given, "they were certainly built upon very juſtifiable "foundations, and would ſoon be ſo explained, "as to convince the States, and all the world, "that the common intereſt would be better pro-

"vided

" vided for another way, than by a battle or
" ſiege: that the want of communication, which
" they complained of, could not make the States
" ſo uneaſy, as their declining to receive it, had
" made the Queen, who had uſed her utmoſt en-
" deavours to perſuade them to concur with her,
" in concerting every ſtep towards a general
" peace, and ſettling ſuch a plan as both ſides
" might approve, and adhere to; but, to this
" day, the States had not thought fit to accept
" thoſe offers, or to authoriſe any of their mini-
" ſters to treat with her Majeſty's plenipotentia-
" ries upon that affair, although they had been
" preſſed to it ever ſince the negociation began:
" that his lordſhip, to ſhew that he did not ſpeak
" his private ſenſe alone, took this opportunity
" to execute the orders he had received the even-
" ing before, by declaring to them, that all her
" Majeſty's offers for adjuſting the differences be-
" tween her and the States, were founded upon
" this expreſs condition, That they ſhould come
" immediately into the Queen's meaſures, and
" act openly and ſincerely with her; and that,
" from their conduct, ſo directly contrary, ſhe
" now looked upon herſelf to be under no obli-
" gation to them."

Monſ. *Buys* and his colleagues were ſtunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their ſide, and had come to the biſhop upon that errand. But after their ſurpriſe was abated, and *Buys*'s long reaſonings at an end,

they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States ſhould immediately diſpatch a miniſter to *England*, unleſs his lordſhip were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he ſaid he was not. They afterwards deſired to know of the biſhop, what the meaning was of the laſt words in his declaration, "That her Ma-"jeſty looked upon herſelf to be under no obli-"gation to them." He told them his opinion, "That as the Queen was bound by treaty, to "concert with the States the conditions of a "peace; ſo, upon their declining the concert ſo "frequently offered, ſhe was acquitted of that "obligation: but that he verily believed, what-"ever meaſures her Majeſty ſhould take, ſhe "would always have a friendly regard to the in-"tereſt of their commonwealth; and that as their "unkindneſs had been very unexpected and diſ-"agreeable to her Majeſty, ſo their compliance "would be equally pleaſing."

I have been the more circumſtantial in relating this affair, becauſe it furniſhed abundance of diſcourſe, and gave riſe to many wild conjectures and miſrepreſentations, as well here as in *Holland*, eſpecially that part which concerned the Duke of *Ormond*; for the angry faction in the houſe of commons, upon the firſt intelligence that the Duke had declined to act offenſively againſt *France*, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an addreſs, wherein the Queen ſhould be informed of "the deep concern of her com-

"mons,

"mons, for the dangerous conſequences to the "common cauſe, which muſt ariſe from this pro- "ceeding of her general; and to beſeech her, "that ſpeedy inſtructions might be given to the "Duke, to proſecute the war with vigour, in or- "der to quiet the minds of her people," &c. But a great majority was againſt this motion, and a reſolution drawn up and preſented to the Queen, by the whole houſe, of a quite contrary tenor, "That they had an entire confidence in "her Majeſty's moſt gracious promiſe, to com- "municate to her parliament the terms of the "peace, before the ſame ſhould be concluded; "and that they would ſupport her Majeſty, in "obtaining an honourable and ſafe peace, againſt "all ſuch perſons, either at home or abroad, who "have endeavoured, or ſhall endeavour to ob- "ſtruct the ſame."

The courier, ſent with the alternative to *Spain*, was now returned, with an account that *Philip* had choſen to renounce *France*, for himſelf and his poſterity; whereof the Queen having receiv- ed notice, her Majeſty, upon the ſixth of *June*, in a long ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, ſtipulated between her and *France*. This ſpeech, being the plan whereby both *France* and the al- lies have been obliged to proceed in the ſubſe- quent courſe of the treaty, I ſhall deſire the read- er's leave to inſert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in moſt hands.

"My

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The making peace and war is the und
" ed prerogative of the crown; yet ſuch
" juſt confidence I place in you, that at the
" ing of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you that
" gociation for a general peace was begun;
" afterwards, by meſſages, I promiſed to
" municate to you the terms of peace, befo
" ſame ſhould be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now
" to let you know, upon what terms a g
" peace may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties whi
" riſe from the very nature of this affair; :
" is but too apparent, that theſe difficulties
" been increaſed by other obſtructions, ar
" contrived to hinder this great and good w

" Nothing, however, has moved me from
" dily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true
" reſts of my own kingdoms; and I have n
" mitted any thing which might procure
" our allies what is due to them by treaties
" what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the proteſtant ſucceſſio
" by law eſtabliſhed, in the houſe of *Ha*
" to theſe kingdoms, being what I have n
" at heart, particular care is taken, not o
" have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt t
" but to have an additional ſecurity, by t
" moval of that perſon out of the domini
" *France*, who has pretended to diſturb th
" tlement.

"The apprehenſion that *Spain* and the *Weſt* "*Indies* might be united to *France*, was the chief "inducement to begin this war, and the effec- "tual preventing of ſuch an union, was the prin- "ciple I laid down at the commencement of this "treaty: former examples, and the late negocia- "tions, ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to "find means to accompliſh this work. I would "not content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpecula- "tive, or depend on treaties only: I inſiſted on "what was ſolid, and to have at hand the power "of executing what ſhould be agreed.

"I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at "laſt is brought to offer, that the Duke of *Anjou* "ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendants, renounce "for ever all claim to the crown of *France*; and, "that this important article may be expoſed to "no hazard, the performance is to accompany "the promiſe.

"At the ſame time the ſucceſſion to the crown "of *France* is to be declared, after the death of "the preſent Dauphin and his ſons, to be in the "Duke of *Berry* and his ſons, in the Duke of "*Orleans* and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of "the houſe of *Bourbon*.

"As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the ſucceſſion to "thoſe dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and "his children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince as "ſhall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever ex- "cluding the reſt of the houſe of *Bourbon*.

"For confirming the renunciations and ſettle- "ments before-mentioned, it is further offered,

"that

" that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt f
" and ſolemn manner both in *France* and S
" and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as al
" other powers engaged in the preſent war,
" be guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, tl
" executes itſelf: the intereſt of *Spain* is t
" port it; and in *France*, the perſons to
" that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be read
" powerful enough to vindicate their own r

" *France* and *Spain* are now more effec
" divided than ever. And thus, by the bl
" of God, will a real balance of power be
" in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few
" dents as human affairs can be exempted f

" A treaty of commerce between theſe
" doms and *France*, has been entered upon
" the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods
" the prohibitions of others, make it impoſſi
" finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be d
" Care is however taken to eſtabliſh a metl
" ſettling this matter; and in the mean
" proviſion is made, that the ſame privileg
" advantages, as ſhall be granted to any oth
" tion by *France*, ſhall be granted in like
" ner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of St. *Chriſ*
" between us and the *French*, having bee
" cauſe of great inconveniency and damage
" ſubjects, I have demanded to have an ab
" ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland
" *France* agrees to this demand.

"Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the "trade of *North America*, that I have uſed my "utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the "moſt beneficial manner. *France* conſents to "reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of "*Hudſon*; to deliver up the iſland of *Newfound-* "*land*, with *Placentia*; and to make an abſolute "ceſſion of *Annapolis*, with the reſt of *Nova Scotia*, "or *Accadie*: the ſafety of our home trade will "be better provided for, by the demolition of "*Dunkirk*.

"Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *Britiſh* in- "tereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſe- "cured by the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-* "*Mahon*, with the whole iſland of *Minorca*, which "are offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* may "in general be ſettled, as it was in the time of "the late King of *Spain*, *Charles* the IId, and a "particular proviſion be made, that all advanta- "ges, rights, or privileges, which have been "granted, or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* "to any other nation, ſhall be in like manner "granted to the ſubjects of *Great-Britain*.

"But the part which we have borne in the "proſecution of this war, entitling us to ſome "diſtinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſt- "ed, and obtained, that the Aſſiento, or contract "for furniſhing the *Spaniſh* Weſt-Indies with ne- "groes, ſhall be made with us for the term of thirty "years, in the ſame manner as it has been en- "joyed by the *French* for ten years paſt.

"I have

" I have not taken upon me to determi
" intereſts of our confederates; theſe mu
" adjuſted in the congreſs at *Utrecht*, whe
" beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, a
" have hitherto conſtantly been, to procur
" very one of them all juſt and reaſonable
" faction. In the mean time, I think it
" to acquaint you, that *France* offers to ma
" *Rhine* the barrier of the empire; to yiel
" *Jack*, the fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and
" all the fortreſſes, both on the other ſide
" *Rhine*, and in that river.

" As to the proteſtant intereſt in *Ge*
" there will be on the part of *France* no obj
" to the reſettling thereof, on the foot
" treaty of *Weſtphalia*.

" The *Spaniſh* Low Countries may go
" Imperial Majeſty: the kingdoms of *Napl*
" *Sardinia*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the
" belonging to *Spain* on the coaſt of *Tuſcan*
" likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of pe
" the Emperor.

" As to the kingdom of *Sicily*, though
" remains no diſpute concerning the ceſſio
" by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet the diſpoſition
" of is not yet determined.

" The intereſt of the States-General, wi
" ſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as the
" been demanded by their own miniſters,
" the exception only of ſome very few ſpe
" merchandize; and the entire barrier,

" a

" manded by the States in 1709 from *France*,
" except two or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients
" are propoſed; and I make no doubt but this
" barrier may be ſo ſettled, as to render that re-
" publick perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize
" on the part of *France*; which is the foundation
" of all my engagements upon this head with the
" States.

" The demands of *Portugal* depending on the
" diſpoſition of *Spain*, and that article having
" been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſi-
" ble to make any conſiderable progreſs therein;
" but my plenipotentiaries will now have an op-
" portunity to aſſiſt that King in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the King of *Pruſſia* are ſuch as, I
" hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part
" of *France*; and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not
" be wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good
" an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demand-
" ed for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the of-
" fers now made by *France*, is very inconſider-
" able: but, that Prince having ſo ſignally diſ-
" tinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common
" cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for him
" ſtill farther advantages.

" *France* has conſented that the Elector *Pala-*
" *tine* ſhall continue his preſent rank among the
" Electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the upper
" *Palatinate*.

" The electoral dignity is likewiſe ack
" ledged in the houſe of *Hanover*, accordi
" the article inſerted, at that Prince's defi
" my demands.

" And as to the reſt of the allies, I ma
" doubt of being able to ſecure their ſever
" tereſts.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you, not
" the terms of peace, which may, by the
" treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects
" likewiſe the propoſals of *France*, for ſati
" our allies.

" The former are ſuch as I have reaſon
" pect, to make my people ſome amends fo
" great and unequal burden which they
" lain under, through the whole courſe o
" war; and I am willing to hope, that no
" our confederates, and eſpecially thoſe to
" ſo great acceſſions of dominion and powe
" to accrue by this peace, will envy *Britai*
" ſhare in the glory and advantage of it.

" The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adj
" as a little more time might have rendered t
" but the ſeaſon of the year making it nec
" to put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no
" er to defer communicating theſe matters t

" I can make no doubt but you are all
" perſuaded, that nothing will be neglect
" my part, in the progreſs of the negociatic
" bring the peace to an happy and ſpeedy

" and I depend on your entire confidence in me, " and your chearful concurrence with me."

The diſcontented party in the Houſe of Commons, finding the torrent againſt them not to be ſtemmed, ſuſpended their oppoſition; by which means an addreſs was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majeſty's condeſcenſion, to expreſs their ſatisfaction in what ſhe had already done, and to deſire ſhe would pleaſe to proceed with the preſent negociations for the obtaining a ſpeedy peace.

During theſe tranſactions at home, the Duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneaſy ſituation at the army, employed in practiſing thoſe arts which perhaps are fitter for a ſubtle negociator than a great commander. But as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of uſe; ſo the duty he profeſſed to his prince, made him ſubmit to continue in a ſtate of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her Majeſty's ſervice. He had ſent early notice to the miniſters, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the Queen's pay; and he now found ſome attempts were already begun to ſeduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had orders to inform the Mareſchal *de Villars* of the true ſtate of this affair; that his Grace would have deciſive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he deſired the Mareſchal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himſelf, or to join with prince

Eugene's army; which he muſt neceſſarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that *Philip* had choſen to accept of *Spain*, her Majeſty had propoſed to *France* a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four,) between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions.

"That, during the ſuſpenſion, endeavours "ſhould be uſed for concluding a general peace; "or, at leaſt, the article for preventing the union "of *France* and *Spain*, ſhould be punctually ex- "ecuted by *Philip*'s renouncing *France*, for him- "ſelf and his poſterity; and the princes of *Bour- "bon*, in like manner renouncing *Spain*: and "that the town, citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk* "ſhould be immediately delivered into the "Queen's hands." Her Majeſty at the ſame time endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they would come into the ſuſpenſion. But this was abſolutely rejected by *France*; which that court would never have ventured to do, if thoſe Allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with ſincerity and openneſs in concert with her Majeſty, as her plenipotentiaries had always deſired. However, the Queen promiſed, that if the States would yield to a ſuſpenſion of arms, they ſhould have ſome valuable pledge put into their poſſeſſion.

But now freſh intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her Majeſty's pay, deſert her ſervice; and

and a deſign even of ſeizing the *Britiſh* forces, was whiſpered about, and with reaſon ſuſpected.

When the Queen's ſpeech was publiſhed in *Holland*, the Lord Privy-Seal told the *Dutch* miniſters at *Utrecht*, "That what her Majeſty had laid before her parliament could not, according to the "rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmoſt of what "*France* would yield in the courſe of a negociation; "but only the utmoſt of what that crown would "propoſe, in order to form the plan of a peace: "that theſe conditions would certainly have been "better, if the States had thought fit to have gone "hand in hand with her Majeſty, as ſhe had ſo frequently exhorted them to do: that nothing but "the want of harmony among the Allies had ſpirited the *French* to ſtand out ſo long: that the "Queen would do them all the good offices in her "power, if they thought fit to comply; and did "not doubt of getting them reaſonable ſatisfaction, "both in relation to their barrier and their trade." But this reaſoning made no impreſſion: the *Dutch* miniſters ſaid, the Queen's ſpeech had deprived them of the fruits of the war. They were in pain, leſt *Liſle* and *Tournay* might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The reſt of the Allies grew angry, by the example of the *Dutch*. The populace in *Holland* began to be inflamed: they publickly talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them. Sermons were preached in ſeveral towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the higheſt inſtances of diſreſpect to her *Britannick* Majeſty, whom they

charged as a papiſt, and an enemy to their country. The Lord Privy-Seal himſelf believed ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own perſon was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain, that the States appeared, but a few days before, very much diſpoſed to comply with the meaſures the Queen had taken, and would have conſented to a general armiſtice, if Count *Zinzendorf*, one of the plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himſelf in ſowing jealouſies between *Britain* and the States; and, at the ſame time, made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the miniſters of *Pruſſia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the war. That thoſe three Electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men, in return of pay and ſubſidies, ſhould readily accept the propoſals of the Emperor, is eaſy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave Republick, uſually cautious enough in making their bargains, ſhould venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promiſes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, the little validity whereof they had ſo long experienced; and eſpecially when they counted upon loſing the ſupport of *Britain*, their moſt powerful Ally; but the falſe hopes given them by their friends in *England*, of ſome new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of reſolution, added to the weakneſs or corruption of ſome, who adminiſtered

adminiſtered their affairs, were the true cauſes which firſt created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* miniſters were wholly diſconcerted and ſurpriſed, when the Lord Privy-Seal told them, "That a ſuſpenſion of arms in the *Nether-*"*lands* would be neceſſary; and that the Duke "of *Ormond* intended very ſoon to declare it, af-"ter he had taken poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*." But his Lordſhip endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for haſtening the States into a compliance with her Majeſty. He likewiſe communicated to the miniſters of the Allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the ſpeech from the throne, which her Majeſty thought to be ſatisfactory, and hoped their maſters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a ſpeedy concluſion, wherein each, in particular, might be aſſured of her beſt offices for advancing their juſt pretenſions.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Ormond* was directed to ſend a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, as ſoon as he ſhould have notice from the Mareſchal *de Villars*, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the Duke foreſaw many difficulties in the executing this commiſſion. He could truſt ſuch an enterprize to no forces, except thoſe of her Majeſty's own ſubjects. He conſidered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loath to divide a ſmall body of men, upon whoſe faithfulneſs alone he could depend. He thought it

it not prudent to expoſe them to march thr
the enemy's country, with whom there wa
neither peace nor truce; and he had ſuffi
reaſons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* woul
ther not permit ſuch a detachment to
through their towns (as themſelves had
than hinted to him) or would ſeize them as
paſſed: beſides, the Duke had very fairly
fied to Mareſchal *de Villars*, that he expect
be deſerted by all the foreign troops in her M
ty's pay, as ſoon as the armiſtice ſhould be
clared; at which the Mareſchal appearing
tremely diſappointed, ſaid, "The King his m
"reckoned, that all the troops under his g
"command ſhould yield to the ceſſation;
"wondered how it ſhould come to paſs,
"thoſe who might be paid for lying ſtill, w
"rather chooſe, after a ten years war, to ente
"to the ſervice of new maſters, under w
"they muſt fight on for nothing." In ſhort
opinion of Monſ. *Villars* was, that this diffi
cancelled the promiſe of ſurrendering *Dunk*
which therefore he oppoſed as much as poſ
in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s repreſenting
difficulties, the Queen altered her meaſures,
ordered forces to be ſent from *England*, to
poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*. The Duke was like
commanded to tell the foreign generals in
Majeſty's ſervice, how highly ſhe would re
their deſertion; after which, their maſters
give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of

or ſubſidy. The Lord Privy-Seal ſpoke the ſame language at *Utrecht*, to the ſeveral miniſters of the Allies; as Mr. Secretary *St. John* did to thoſe who reſided here; adding, "That the proceed-"ing of the foreign troops would be looked up-"on as a declaration for or againſt her Majeſty; "and that, in caſe they deſert her ſervice, ſhe "would look on herſelf as juſtified, before God "and man, to continue her negociation at *Ut-"recht*, or any other place, whether the Allies "concur or not." And particularly the *Dutch* were aſſured, "that if their maſters ſeduced the "forces hired by the Queen, they muſt take the "whole pay, arrears, and ſubſidies on them-"ſelves."

The Earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with inſtructions proper to the preſent ſituation of affairs, went firſt to the army, and there informed the Duke of *Ormond* of her Majeſty's intentions. He alſo acquainted the States' deputies with the Queen's uneaſineſs, leſt, by the meaſures they were taking, they ſhould drive her to extremities, which ſhe deſired ſo much to avoid. He farther repreſented to them, in the plaineſt terms, the provocations her Majeſty had received, and the grounds and reaſons for her preſent conduct. He likewiſe declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops, in the Queen's pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much ſurprize her Majeſty had heard, "that "there was the leaſt doubt of their obeying the

"orders

" orders of the Duke of *Ormond*; which, if they " refuſed, her Majeſty would eſteem it not only " as an indignity and affront, but as a declaration " againſt her; and, in ſuch a caſe, they muſt " look on themſelves as no farther entitled either " to any arrear, or future pay or ſubſidies."

Six regiments under the command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*; and the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the firſt intelligence ſent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could act no longer againſt *France*. The Queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That their perpetual caballing " with her factious ſubjects, againſt her authori- " ty, had forced her into ſuch meaſures, as o- " therwiſe ſhe would not have engaged in. How- " ever, her Majeſty was willing yet to forget all " that had paſſed, and to unite with them in the " ſtricteſt ties of amity, which ſhe hoped they " would now do; ſince they could not but be " convinced, by the late dutiful addreſſes of both " Houſes, how far their High Mightineſſes had " been deluded, and drawn in as inſtruments to " ſerve the turn, and gratify the paſſions, of a " diſaffected party: that their oppoſition, and " want of concert with her Majeſty's miniſters, " which ſhe had ſo often invited them to, had " encouraged *France* to except towns out of their " barrier, which otherwiſe might have been yield- " ed: that, however, ſhe had not precluded them,

" or

"or any other Ally, from demanding more; and "even her own terms were but conditional, up- "on ſuppoſition of a general peace to enſue: "that her Majeſty reſolved to act upon the plan "laid down in her ſpeech;" and ſhe repeated the promiſe of her beſt offices to promote the intereſt of the States, if they would deal ſincerely with her.

Some days before the Duke of *Ormond* had notice, that orders were given for the ſurrender of *Dunkirk*, prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* ſent for the generals of the Allies, and aſked them ſeverally, whether, in caſe the armies ſeparated, they would march with him, or ſtay with the Duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but ſmall bodies, agreed to join with the Prince; who thereupon, about three days after, ſent the Duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was ſuppoſed) to beſiege *Landrecy*. The Duke returned an anſwer, "That he was "ſurpriſed at the Prince's meſſage, there having "been not the leaſt previous concert with him, "nor any mention in the meſſage, which way, "or upon what deſign, the march was intended; "therefore, that the Duke could not reſolve to "march with him; much leſs could the Prince "expect aſſiſtance from the Queen's army, in a- "ny deſign undertaken after this manner." The Duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to her Majeſty's general any misfortune that might happen.

On

On the ſixteenth of *July*, N. S. the ſeveral generals of the Allies joined Prince *Eugene*'s army, and began their march, after taking leave of the Duke and the Earl of *Strafford*, whoſe expoſtulations could not prevail on them to ſtay; although the latter aſſured them, that the Queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*, and that her forces would now be left expoſed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous deſertion, the Duke of *Ormond* received a letter from Monſ. *de Villars*, with an account, that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* ſhould be delivered to Mr. *Hill*. Whereupon a ceſſation of arms was declared, by ſound of trumpet, at the head of the *Britiſh* army; which now conſiſted only of about eighteen thouſand men, all of her Majeſty's ſubjects, except the *Holſteiners* and Count *Wallis*'s dragoons. With this ſmall body of men the general began his march, and, purſuant to orders from court, retired towards the ſea, in the manner he thought moſt convenient for the Queen's ſervice. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by ſome of his officers, that the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Liſle*, and *Tournay*, had refuſed them paſſage through thoſe towns, or even liberty of entrance, and ſaid it was by order of their maſters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies firſt heard of his reſolution to withdraw his troops, they told him they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders

orders muſt be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the ſame treatment which his officers had done. He had likewiſe, before the armies ſeparated, received information of ſome deſigns that concerned the ſafety, or at leaſt the freedom of his own perſon, and, (which he much more valued) that of thoſe few *Britiſh* troops entruſted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deſervedly beloved by his ſoldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to ſacrifice their lives in his ſervice; and whoſe reſentments were raiſed to the utmoſt, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deſerters.

Upon theſe provocations, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to conſider how he might perform, in ſo difficult a conjuncture, ſomething important to the Queen, and at the ſame time find a ſecure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan, without communicating it to any perſon whatſoever; and the diſpoſition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave ſudden orders to lieutenant-general *Cadogan*, to change his route, according to the military phraſe, and move towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When Prince *Eugene* and the States' deputies received news of the Duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmoſt degree, and ſent Count *Naſſau*, of *Wordenburg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuſe what had been done, and to aſſure his Grace, that thoſe commandants,

who had refuſed paſſage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count *Hempſeck*, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewiſe to the Duke with the ſame ſtory; but all this made little impreſſion on the general, who held on his march, and on the twenty-third of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received, with great ſubmiſſion, by the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of the town, as he likewiſe did of *Bruges*, a few days after.

The Duke of *Ormond* thought, that conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be neceſſary for the Queen to have ſome pledge from that republic in her hands, as well as from *France*, by which means her Majeſty would be empowered to act the part that beſt became her, of being mediator at leaſt: that while *Ghent* was in the Queen's hands, no proviſions could paſs the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her permiſſion, by which he had it in his power to ſtarve their army. The poſſeſſion of theſe towns might likewiſe teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialiſts*, to preſerve a degree of decency and civility to her Majeſty, which both of them were, upon ſome occaſions, too apt to forget; and beſides, there was already in the town of *Ghent*, a battalion of *Britiſh* troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-ſtores for the ſervice of the war, which would certainly have been ſeized or embezzled; ſo that no ſervice could be more ſeaſonable or uſeful in the preſent juncture

than

than this; which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a diſcretionary power to act as he thought fit, on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the Duke of *Ormond*'s proceedings, who, after having placed a garriſon at *Bruges*, and ſent a ſupply of men and ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued ſome months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of colonel *Diſney* to court, with an account that Mr. *Hill* had taken poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, an univerſal joy ſpread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: beſides, the *French* faith was in ſo ill a reputation among us, that many perſons, otherwiſe ſanguine enough, could never bring themſelves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the miniſters themſelves altogether at eaſe, or free from ſuſpicion, whatever countenance they made: for they knew very well, that the *French* king had many plauſible reaſons to elude his promiſe, if he found cauſe to repent it; one condition of ſurrendering *Dunkirk*, being a general armiſtice of all the troops in the *Britiſh* pay, which her Majeſty was not able to perform; and, upon this failure, the Mareſchal *de Villars* (as we have before related) endeavoured to diſſuade his court from accepting the conditions: and in the very interval, while thoſe difficulties

were adjuſting, the Mareſchal *de Huxelles*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whoſe inclinations, as well as thoſe of his colleague, Monſ. *Meſnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) aſſured the Lord Privy-Seal, that the *Dutch* were then preſſing to enter into ſeparate meaſures with his maſter: and his lordſhip, in a viſit to the Abbé *de Polignac*, obſerving a perſon to withdraw as he entered the Abbé's chamber, was told by this miniſter, that the perſon he ſaw was one *Moleau*, of *Amſterdam*, mentioned before, a famous agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the Abbé) upon the ſame ſubject; but that he had refuſed to treat with *Moleau*, without the privity of *England*.

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above to have been ſent early in the ſpring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at firſt expected; but having received her Majeſty's farther inſtructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highneſs, to be very ill ſerved by Monſ. *Bothmar*, his envoy here, who aſſiſted at all the factious meetings of the diſcontented party, and deceived his maſter by a falſe repreſentation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of thoſe to whom he confined his converſation. There was likewiſe at the Elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or conſequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the aſſiſtance and encouragement of the late miniſtry, had inſinuated himſelf into ſome degree of that

that prince's favour, which he uſed in giving his maſter the worſt impreſſions he was able, of thoſe whom the Queen employed in her ſervice; inſinuating, that the preſent miniſters were not in the intereſt of his Highneſs's family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an unſecure and diſhonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was againſt them; and that it was impoſſible for them to preſerve much longer their credit or power.

The Earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing years, been ſent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infuſed into his Highneſs, againſt her Majeſty's proceedings; but it ſhould ſeem, that he had no very great ſucceſs in his negociation: for ſoon after his return to *England*, Monſ. *Bothmar's* memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which diſcovered the ſentiments of his Electoral Highneſs (if they were truly repreſented in that memorial) to differ not a little from thoſe of the Queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed, to take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to the Elector in private, to aſſure him, "That "although her Majeſty had thought herſelf juſtly provoked, by the conduct of his miniſter, "yet ſuch was her affection for his Highneſs, "and concern for the intereſts of his family, "that inſtead of ſhewing the leaſt mark of reſentment, ſhe had choſen to ſend him (Mr. "*Harley*) fully inſtructed to open her deſigns, "and ſhew his Highneſs the real intereſt of *Bri-*

" *tain*, in the preſent conjuncture." Mr. *Harley* was to give the Elector a true account of what had paſſed in *England*, during the firſt part of this ſeſſion of parliament; to expoſe to his Highneſs the weakneſs of thoſe with whom his miniſter had conſulted, and under whoſe directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction muſt become, when a peace ſhould be concluded, and when the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, diſincumbered from the burthen of the war, ſhould be at liberty to exert itſelf; to ſhew him how his intereſt in the ſucceſſion was ſacrificed to that of a party; that his Highneſs had been hitherto a friend to both ſides, but that the meaſures taken by his miniſters, had tended only to ſet him at the head of one, in oppoſition to the other; to explain to the Elector, how fully the ſafety of *Europe* was provided for, by the plan of peace in her Majeſty's ſpeech; and how little reaſon thoſe would appear to have, who complained the loudeſt of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the courſe of it.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. *Harley* was to obſerve to the Elector, " That it ſhould rather be wondered at, how the Queen had brought *France* " to offer ſo much, than yet to offer no more; " becauſe, as ſoon as ever it appeared that her " Majeſty would be at the head of this treaty, " and that the intereſts of *Britain* were to be " provided for, ſuch endeavours were uſed to

" break

" break off the negotiation, as are hardly to be
" paralleled; and the diſunion thereby created
" among the allies, had given more opportuni-
" ties to the enemy, of being ſlow in their con-
" ceſſions, than any other meaſures might poſſi-
" bly have done: that this want of concert a-
" mong the allies, could not in any ſort be im-
" puted to the Queen, who had all along invited
" them to it with the greateſt earneſtneſs, as the
" ſureſt means to bring *France* to reaſon: that
" ſhe had always, in a particular manner, preſſ-
" ed the States-General to come into the ſtrict-
" eſt union with her, and opened to them her in-
" tentions with the greateſt freedom; but find-
" ing, that inſtead of concurring with her Ma-
" jeſty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to
" break off the negociation, and thereby deprive
" her of the advantages ſhe might juſtly expect
" from the enſuing peace, having no other way
" left, ſhe was forced to act with *France* as ſhe
" did, by herſelf: that, however, the Queen had
" not taken upon herſelf to determine the inte-
" reſts of the allies, who were at liberty of in-
" ſiſting on farther pretenſions, wherein her Ma-
" jeſty would not be wanting to ſupport them,
" as far as ſhe was able, and improve the con-
" ceſſions already made by *France:* in which caſe,
" a good underſtanding and harmony among the
" confederates, would yet be of the greateſt uſe,
" for making the enemy more tractable and
" eaſy."

I have been more particular, in reciting the ſubſtance

ſubſtance of Mr. *Harley*'s inſtructions, becauſe it will ſerve as a recapitulation of what I have already ſaid upon this ſubject, and ſeems to ſet her Majeſty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the cleareſt light.

After the ceſſation of arms declared by the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries very earneſtly preſſed thoſe of *Holland* to come into a general armiſtice; for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the beſt means for bringing the common enemy to reaſonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundleſs promiſes of Count *Zinzendorf*, and the undertaking talent of Prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the concluſion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a ceſſation. The loſs of eighteen thouſand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of ſuch an ally as the Emperor, and ſuch a general as the prince. Beſides, they looked upon themſelves to be ſtill ſuperior to *France* in the field; and although their computation was certainly right, in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the concluſion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great miſtake. I have been aſſured, by ſeveral perſons of our own country, and ſome foreigners of the firſt rank, both for ſkill and ſtation in arms, that in moſt victories obtained in the preſent war, the *Britiſh* troops were ever employed in the poſt of danger and honour, and uſually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearleſs than the people

people of any other country) by which they were not only an example of courage to the reſt, but muſt be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day: ſince it is known enough, how ſmall a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewiſe be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war, than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent loſſes, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *Britiſh* general, at the head of *Britiſh* troops, was not to be overcome; and the Mareſchal *de Villars* was quickly ſenſible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the deſertion of the allies, happened the Earl of *Albemarle*'s diſgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the Mareſchal's, and a manifeſt failure ſomewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the ſide of the confederates. The blame of which, was equally ſhared between Prince *Eugene* and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely warning of his danger, obſerving he was neither entrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges ſufficient for the ſituation he was in, and at ſuch a diſtance from the main army.

The Marquis *de Torcy* had likewiſe the ſame ſentiments, of what mighty conſequence thoſe few *Britiſh* battalions were to the confederate army; ſince he adviſed his maſter to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the Queen could not perform the condition underſtood, which was a ceſſation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It

It muſt be owned, that Monſ. *de Torcy* made great merit of this confidence that his maſter placed in the Queen; and obſerving her Majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the *Dutch*, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enow; inſinuating, that ſince the States had acted ſo ungratefully, the Queen ſhould let her forces join with thoſe of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But although this overture was very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her Majeſty heard it with the utmoſt abhorrence; and ordered her ſecretary, Mr. *St. John* (created about this time Viſcount *Bolingbroke*) to tell Monſ. *de Torcy*, "That "no provocations whatever ſhould tempt her to "diſtreſs her allies; but ſhe would endeavour to "bring them to reaſon by fair means, or leave "them to their own conduct: that if the former "ſhould be found impracticable, ſhe would then "make her own peace, and content herſelf with "doing the office of a mediator between both "parties: but if the States ſhould, at any time, "come to a better mind, and ſuffer their mini-"ſters to act in conjunction with her's, ſhe "would aſſert their juſt intereſts to the utmoſt, "and make no farther progreſs in any trea-"ty with *France*, until thoſe allies received "all reaſonable ſatisfaction, both as to their bar-"rier and their trade." The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries were directed to give the ſame aſſurances to the *Dutch* miniſters at *Utrecht*, and withal to let them know, "That the Queen was deter-

"mined,

"mined, by their late conduct, to make peace, "either with or without them; but would much "rather chooſe the former."

There was, however, one advantage which her Majeſty reſolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the miſtaken politics of ſome years paſt, to involve herſelf in ſeveral guarantees with the princes of the North, which were, in ſome ſort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all ſuch engagements, and left her at liberty to interpoſe in the affairs of thoſe parts of *Europe*, in ſuch a manner as would beſt ſerve the intereſts of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the proteſtant religion, and ſettle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a ceſſation of arms. But many difficulties ariſing about that, and ſome other points of great importance to the common cauſe, which could not eaſily be adjuſted, either between the *French* and *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by correſpondence between Monſ. *de Torcy* and the miniſtry here; the Queen took the reſolution of ſending the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully inſtructed in all her intentions, and authoriſed to negociate every thing neceſſary for ſettling the treaty of peace in ſuch a courſe, as might bring it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. He was empowered to agree to a general ſuſpenſion of arms, by ſea and land, between

tween *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, to continue for four months, or until the concluſion of the peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previouſly give poſitive aſſurances to make good the terms demanded by her Majeſty for the Duke of *Savoy*, and would likewiſe adjuſt and determine the forms of the ſeveral renunciations to be made by both thoſe crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord *Bolingbroke* was likewiſe authoriſed to ſettle ſome differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whoſe intereſts *France* was not ſo much concerned as her Majeſty was for thoſe of the Duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of *Britain*; to know the real ultimation, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general plan of peace; and laſtly, to cut off all hopes from that court, of ever bringing the Queen to force her allies to a diſadvantageous peace; her Majeſty reſolving to impoſe no ſcheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the beſt conditions they could.

The Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *Auguſt*, was received at court with particular marks of diſtinction and reſpect; and, in a very few days, by his uſual addreſs and ability, performed every part of his commiſſion, extremely to the Queen's content, and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjuſt whatever differences

differences might remain, or ariſe between the two crowns.

In the mean time the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for ſeveral weeks had been let fall, ſince the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now reſumed. But the *Dutch* ſtill declaring againſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, and refuſing to accept the Queen's ſpeech as a plan to negociate upon, there was no progreſs made for ſome time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries told thoſe of the States, "That if "the Queen's endeavours could not procure more "than the contents of her ſpeech, or if the *French* "ſhould ever fall ſhort of what was there offer-"ed, the *Dutch* could blame none but themſelves, "who, by their conduct, had rendered things "difficult, that would otherwiſe have been eaſy." However, her Majeſty thought it prudent to keep the States ſtill in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the deſperate courſe of leaving themſelves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practiſed, and which a party among them was now inclined to adviſe.

Whilſt the congreſs at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive ſtate, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was propoſed and accepted, that *Philip* ſhould renounce *France*, for himſelf and his poſterity; and that the moſt Chriſtian King, and all the princes of his blood, ſhould, in the like manner, renounce *Spain*.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great diſrepute, by the former practices of this very king, *Lewis* XIV. purſuant to an abſurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the *French* themſelves had recourſe to this method, after all their infractions of it, ſince the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the firſt dauphin, in whom the original claim was veſted, renounced, for himſelf and his eldeſt ſon, which opened the way to *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have ſucceeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the laſt king, *Charles* II.

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable ſtupidity of the princes of *Europe* for ſome centuries paſt, who left a probability to *France* of ſucceeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilſt, at the ſame time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reaſon of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every ſovereign in *Chriſtendom* to enact a Salique law, with reſpect to *France*; for want of which, it is almoſt a miracle, that the *Bourbon* family hath not poſſeſſed the univerſal monarchy, by right of inheritance? When the *French* aſſert, a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as ſome of their miniſters, who ought to be more wiſe or honeſt, have lately advanced in this very caſe, to the

the title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* ſucceſſion, make their own kings uſurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of univerſal obligation, and conſequently of force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by daughters? Or, laſtly, if that law be of human inſtitution, may it not be enacted in any ſtate, with whatever extent or limitation the legiſlature ſhall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an abſurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and ſupported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late Queen of *France*, although ſhe had renounced, were as legally excluded from ſucceeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; ſince that excluſion was eſtabliſhed by every power in *Spain*, which could poſſibly give a ſanction to any law there; and therefore, the Duke of *Anjou*'s title is wholly founded upon the bequeſt of his predeceſſor, (which hath great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general conſent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is ſo frequently ſubſervient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwiſe than from the powers and parties whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport them. But this renunciation which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* king and his grandſon, I take to be armed with all the eſſential circumſtances that can fortify ſuch an act. For

as it is neceſſary, for the ſecurity of every prince in *Europe*, that thoſe two great kingdoms ſhould never be united; ſo the chief among them will readily conſent to be guarantees for preventing ſuch a misfortune.

Beſides, this propoſal (according to her Majeſty's expreſſion in her ſpeech) is of ſuch a nature, that it executes itſelf; becauſe the *Spaniards*, who dread ſuch an union, for every reaſon that can have weight among men, took care that their King ſhould not only renounce in the moſt ſolemn manner; but likewiſe, that the act ſhould be framed in the ſtrongeſt terms themſelves could invent, or we could furniſh them with. As to *France*, upon ſuppoſal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war againſt a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever elſe ſhall be next claimer; and the longer the preſent Dauphin lives, the weaker muſt *Philip*'s intereſt be in *France*; becauſe the Princes, who are to ſucceed by this renunciation, will have moſt power and credit in the kingdom.

The miſchiefs occaſioned by the want of a good underſtanding between the Allies, eſpecially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raiſed every day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raiſing difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewiſe upon the explanation of ſeveral articles in the projected treaty between them and her Majeſty: They inſiſted to have *Liſle*, as the equivalent

quivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three towns mentioned in the Queen's ſpeech; which the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries were ſo far from allowing, that they refuſed to confer with thoſe of *France* upon that foot; although, at the ſame time, the former had freſh apprehenſions that the *Dutch*, in a fit of deſpair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleaſed to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her Majeſty from obtaining any advantage, both for her allies and herſelf.

It is moſt certain, that the repeated loſſes ſuffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themſelves from the Queen's aſſiſtance, did wholly diſconcert their counſels; and their prudence (as it is uſual) began to forſake them with their good-fortune. They were ſo weak as to be ſtill deluded by their friends in *England*, who continued to give them hopes of ſome mighty and immediate reſource from hence; for when the Duke of *Ormond* had been about a month in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the Mareſchal *de Villars*, to inform him, that the *Dutch* generals taken at *Denain*, had told the Mareſchal publicly, of a ſudden revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the Earl of *Albemarle* and Monſ. *Hompeſch* diſcourſed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewiſe confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour

flew about here at the very ſame time, as if her Majeſty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether ſuch vain hopes as theſe gave ſpirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and ſullen; whether they ſtill expected to over-reach us by ſome private ſtipulations with *France*, through the mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out; or whatever elſe was the cauſe, they utterly refuſed a ceſſation of arms; and made not the leaſt return to all the advances and invitations made by her Majeſty, until the cloſe of the campaign.

It was then the States firſt began to view their affairs in another light; to conſider how little the vaſt promiſes of Count *Zinzendorf* were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not diſpoſed to break with her Majeſty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreaſonable demands; to diſcover that their factious correſpondents on this ſide the water, had ſhamefully miſled them; that ſome of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, laſtly, that Prince *Eugene*, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their miniſters at *Utrecht* to ſignify to the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, "That the States were diſpoſed to comply with "her Majeſty, and to deſire her good offices with "*France*; particularly, that *Tournay* and *Condé* "might be left to them as part of their Barrier,

"without

" without which they could not be ſafe: That " the Elector of *Bavaria* might not be ſuffered " to retain any town in the *Netherlands*, which " would be as bad for *Holland* as if thoſe places " were in the hands of *France*: Therefore the " States propoſed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, " *Charleroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to " the Emperor. Laſtly, That the *French* might " not inſiſt on excepting the four ſpecies of goods " out of the Tariff of 1664: That if her Majeſty " could prevail with *France* to ſatisfy their Maſ- " ters on theſe articles, they would be ready to " ſubmit in all the reſt."

When the Queen received an account of this good diſpoſition in the States-General, immediately orders were ſent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the miniſters of the *French* court, " That her " Majeſty had now ſome hopes of the *Dutch* " complying with her meaſures; and therefore " ſhe reſolved, as ſhe had always declared, when- " ever thoſe Allies came to themſelves, not to " make the peace without their reaſonable ſatis- " faction." The difficulty that moſt preſſed, was about the diſpoſal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* inſiſted ſtrongly to have both; and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The Queen judged the former would ſuffice, for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to preſs the Marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this head, and to terminate all that miniſter's objections, by aſſuring him of

of her Majeſty's reſolutions to appear openl
the ſide of the *Dutch*, if this demand were rei
It was thought convenient to act in this rei
manner with *France*, whoſe late ſucceſs a
Holland, had taught the miniſters of the
Chriſtian King to reſume their old imp
manner of treating with that republick; to
they were farther encouraged by the ill u
ſtanding between her Majeſty and the Allie

This appeared from the reſult of an idle
rel that happened, about the end of *Augu*
Utrecht, between a *French* and a *Dutch* ple
tentiary, Monſ. *Meſnager* and Count *Rech*
wherein the court of *France* demanded ſuch
ſubmiſſions, and with ſo much haughtine
plainly ſhewed they were pleaſed with any
ſion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Beſides, the politicks of the *French* ran at thi
very oppoſite to thoſe of *Britain*: They th
the miniſters here durſt not meet the parli
without a peace; and that, therefore, her M
would either force the States to comply
France, by delivering up *Tournay*, which wa
principal point in diſpute, or would finiſh he
peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed
for *Holland* to refuſe or accept the terms im
on them. But the Queen, who thought th
mand of *Tournay* by the States to be very
ſary and juſt, was determined to inſiſt up
and to declare openly againſt *France*, rather
ſuffer her Ally to want a place ſo uſefi
their barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered t

nify this reſolution of her Majeſty to Monſ. *de Torcy*, in caſe that Miniſter could not be otherwiſe prevailed on.

The *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries did likewiſe, at the ſame time, expreſs to thoſe of *Holland*, her Majeſty's great ſatisfaction, that the States were at laſt diſpoſed to act in confidence with her: "That "ſhe wiſhed this reſolution had been ſooner taken, "ſince nobody had gained by the delay, but the "*French* King; that, however, her Majeſty did "not queſtion the procuring a ſafe and honour-"able peace, by united counſels, reaſonable de-"mands, and prudent meaſures; that ſhe would "aſſiſt them in getting whatever was neceſſary to "their barrier, and in ſettling, to their ſatisfac-"tion, the exceptions made by *France* out of the "Tariff of 1664; that no other difficulties re-"mained of moment to retard the peace, ſince "the Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of "*Savoy*; and, in the ſettlement of the *Low-Coun-"tries*, would adhere to what ſhe delivered from "the throne: That as to the Empire, her Majeſty "heartily wiſhed their Barrier as good as could "be deſired; but that we were not now in cir-"cumſtances to expect every thing exactly ac-"cording to the ſcheme of *Holland*: *France* had "already offered a great part, and the Queen did "not think the remainder worth the continuance "of the war."

Her Majeſty conceived the peace in ſo much forwardneſs, that ſhe thought fit, about this time, to nominate the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Lexington*

Lexington for ambaſſadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjuſt matters of commerce.

The Duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the Lord *Mohun*, a perſon of infamous character. He killed his adverſary upon the ſpot, though he himſelf received a wound; and, weakened by the loſs of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his ſecond, was moſt barbarouſly ſtabbed in the breaſt by lieutenant-general *Macartney*, who was ſecond to Lord *Mohun*. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his eſcape. I thought ſo ſurpriſing an event might deſerve barely to be related, although it be ſomething foreign to my ſubject.

The Earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *England* in laſt, in order to give her Majeſty an account of the diſpoſition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her laſt inſtructions to let the *Dutch* miniſter know, "That ſome "points would probably meet with difficulties "not to be overcome, which once might have been "eaſily obtained: To ſhew what evil conſe"quences had already flowed from their delay "and irreſolution, and to intreat them to fix on "ſome propoſition, reaſonable in itſelf, as well "as poſſible to be effected: That the Queen would "inſiſt upon the ceſſion of *Tournay* by *France* "provided the States would concur in finiſhing "the peace, without ſtarting new objections, or "inſiſting upon farther points: That the *French* "demands

"demands, in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*, "appeared to be ſuch as, the Queen was of opi- "nion, the States ought to agree to; which were, "to leave the Elector in poſſeſſion of *Luxem-* "*bourg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, ſubject to the "terms of their Barrier, until he ſhould be re- "ſtored to his electorate; and to give him the "kingdom of *Sardinia* to efface the ſtain of his "degradation in the Electoral College: That the "Earl had brought over a project of a new treaty "of Succeſſion and Barrier, which her Majeſty "inſiſted the States ſhould ſign, before the con- "cluſion of the peace; the former treaty having "been diſadvantageous to her ſubjects, contain- "ing in it the ſeeds of future diſſenſions, and "condemned by the ſenſe of the nation. Laſtly, "That her Majeſty, notwithſtanding all provoca- "tions, had, for the ſake of the *Dutch*, and in "hopes of their recovery from thoſe falſe notions "which had ſo long miſled them, hitherto kept "the negociations open: That the offers now "made them were her laſt, and this the laſt time "ſhe would apply to them: That they muſt ei- "ther agree, or expect the Queen would proceed "immediately to conclude her treaty with *France* "and *Spain*, in conjunction with ſuch of her Al- "lies as would think fit to adhere to her."

"As to *Savoy*, that the Queen expected the "States would concur with her in making good "the advantages ſtipulated for that Duke, and in "prevailing with the Emperor to conſent to an

"abſolute

" abſolute neutrality in *Italy*, until the peace " ſhould be concluded."

The governing party in *Holland*, however in appearance diſpoſed to finiſh, affected new delays, and raiſed many difficulties about the four ſpecies of goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the Tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was poſſible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a neceſſity of preparing for the next campaign; and, ſome time after, went ſo far in this purſuit, that he ſummoned the ſeveral miniſters of the Empire; told them he had letters from his maſter, with orders to ſignify to them, " That his Imperial Majeſty reſolved to begin the " campaign early, with all his forces united a- " gainſt *France*; of which he deſired they would " ſend notice to all their courts, that the ſeveral " princes might be ready to furniſh their contin- " gents and recruits." At the ſame time, *Zinzendorf* endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the ſecurity of ſome imperial cities; but could not ſucceed either amongſt the Jews or at *Amſterdam*.

When the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at *Utrecht*, the Lord Privy-Seal and he communicated to the *Dutch* miniſters the new treaty for a Succeſſion and Barrier, as the Queen had ordered it to be prepared here in *England*, differing from the former in ſeveral points of the greateſt moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed for ſeveral weeks

weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States; but the province of *Utrecht*, where the congreſs was held, immediately ſent orders to their repreſentatives at the *Hague*, to declare their province thankful to the Queen; that they agreed the peace ſhould be made on the terms propoſed by *France*, and conſented to the new projected treaty of Barrier and Succeſſion: And about the cloſe of the year 1712, four of the ſeven provinces, had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unuſual precipitation in the States, ſo different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much ſuſpected by the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries. Their Lordſhips had received intelligence, that the *Dutch* miniſters held frequent conferences with thoſe of *France*, and had offered to ſettle their intereſts with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf*, and his colleagues, appeared likewiſe, all on a ſudden, to have the ſame diſpoſitions, and to be in great haſte to ſettle their ſeveral differences with the States. The reaſons for this proceeding were viſible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her Majeſty and *France*, for the adjuſting of which, and ſome other points, the Queen had lately diſpatched the Duke of *Shrewſbury* to that court. Some of theſe were of hard digeſtion, with which the moſt Chriſtian King would not be under a neceſſity of complying when he had no farther occaſion for us, and might, upon that ac-

count, afford better terms to the other two powers. Beſides, the Emperor and the States could very well ſpare her Majeſty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped by this means, to avoid the new Treaty of Barrier and Succeſſion, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the conſequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident which the two Lords at *Utrecht*, knew well to make uſe of. The quarrel between Monſieur *Meſnager* and Count *Rechteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in ſome circumſtances, about the ſatisfaction to be given by the Count for the affront he had offered, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries kept this diſpute on foot for ſeveral days; and, in the mean time, preſſed the *Dutch* to finiſh the new treaty of Barrier and Suceſſion between her Majeſty and them, which, about the middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the Queen's ſatisfaction.

But while theſe debates and differences continued at the congreſs, the Queen reſolved to put a ſpeedy end to her part in the war. She therefore ſent orders to the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſigning her own treaty with *France*. This ſhe hoped might be done againſt the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which time, thoſe among the Allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might ſettle their ſeveral intereſts by the aſſiſtance and ſupport of

of her Majeſty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the reſt, who would either refuſe to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their reſpective demands, which *France* had yielded by her Majeſty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her ſpeech, ſhould be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the ſeveral powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon ſome difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a ſafe conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s dominions, where it was then propoſed he ſhould reſide. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her ſubjects, declared, ſhe would not ſign the peace till that perſon were removed; although ſeveral wiſe men believed he could be no where leſs dangerous to *Britain*, than in the place where he was.

The argument which moſt prevailed on the States to ſign the new treaty of Barrier and Succeſſion with *Britain*, was her Majeſty's promiſe to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that Republic, and conſequently they had no farther temptations to any ſeparate tranſactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The ſatisfaction they extorted for the affront given by Count *Rechteren* to Monſieur *Meſnager*, although ſomewhat ſoftened by the *Britiſh* miniſters at *Utrecht*, was yet ſo rigorous, that her

Majeſty could not forbear ſignifying her reſentment of it to the moſt Chriſtian King. Monſieur *Meſnager*, who ſeemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a miniſter, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raiſe new diſputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly ſettled. The Abbé *de Polignac*, a moſt accompliſhed perſon, of great generoſity and univerſal underſtanding, was gone to *France* to receive the Cardinal's cap; and the Mareſchal *de Huxelles*, was wholly guided by his colleague, Monſ. *Meſnager*, who kept up thoſe brangles, that for a time obſtructed the peace; ſome of which were againſt all juſtice, and others of ſmall importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and leſs to the reputation of his maſter or himſelf. This low talent in buſineſs, which the Cardinal *de Polignac* uſed, in contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negociating*, made it impoſſible for the two Lords Plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring *Meſnager* to reaſon, in ſeveral points, both with us and the States. His conceſſions were few and conſtrained, ſerving only to render him more tenacious of what he refuſed. In ſeveral of the towns, which the States were to keep, he inſiſted that *France* ſhould retain the Chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a demand the more unjuſtifiable, becauſe he knew his maſter had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended

tended the territories about thoſe towns he had taken, as far as he pleaſed to direct them. Monſieur *Meſnager* ſhewed equal obſtinacy in what his maſter expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refuſing the Tariff of 1664: So that the Queen's plenipotentiaries repreſented theſe difficulties as what might be of dangerous conſequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not ſpeedily prevented.

Upon theſe conſiderations, her Majeſty thought it her ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe to apply directly to *France*, where ſhe had then ſo able a miniſter as the Duke of *Shrewſbury*.

The Marquis *de Torcy*, ſecretary to the moſt Chriſtian King, was the miniſter with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the firſt who moved his maſter to apply to the Queen for a peace, in oppoſition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be, either here or in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike an hiſtorian, to refuſe this great miniſter the praiſe he ſo juſtly deſerveth, of having treated, through the whole courſe of ſo great a negociation, with the utmoſt candour and integrity; never once failing in any promiſe he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his maſter's intereſt, with a ready compliance to what was reaſonable and juſt. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, reſided likewiſe now at *Paris*, with the character of miniſter plenipotentia-

ry, and was very acceptable to that court, upon the ſcore of his wit and humour.

The Duke of *Shrewſbury* was directed to preſs the *French* court upon the points yet unſettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreaſonable demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the Queen was reſolved not to forſake her allies, who were now ready to come in; that ſhe thought the beſt way of haſtening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which time ſhe could not conveniently ſuffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, ſo fully convinced of the Queen's ſincerity and affection to their republic, and how much they had been deceived by the inſinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble letter to her Majeſty, to deſire her aſſiſtance towards ſettling thoſe points they had in diſpute with *France*, and profeſſing themſelves ready to acquieſce in whatever explanation her Majeſty would pleaſe to make of the plan propoſed in her ſpeech to the parliament.

But the Queen had already prevented their deſires; and in the beginning of *February* 1712-13, directed the Duke of *Shrewſbury* to inform the *French* court, "That ſince ſhe had prevailed on "her allies, the *Dutch*, to drop the demand of "*Condé*, and the other of the four ſpecies of goods, "which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff "of 1664, ſhe would not ſign without them: "that

" that ſhe approved of the *Dutch* inſiſting to have " the Chatellanies reſtored with the towns, and " was reſolved to ſtand or fall with them, until " they were ſatisfied in this point."

Her Majeſty had ſome apprehenſions, that the *French* created theſe difficulties, on purpoſe to ſpin out the treaty, until the campaign ſhould begin. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary, that our parliament ſhould meet in a few weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the Queen were able to tell both houſes, that her own peace was ſigned: that this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The Queen, weary of theſe refined miſtakes in the *French* politics, and fully reſolved to be trifled with no longer, ſent her determinate orders to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, to let *France* know, " That her Majeſty had hitherto prorogued her " parliament, in hopes of accommodating the dif- " ficulties in her own treaties of peace and com- " merce with that crown, as well as ſettling the " intereſts of her ſeveral allies; or, at leaſt, that " the differences in the former being removed, " the moſt Chriſtian King would have made ſuch " offers for the latter, as might juſtify her Ma- " ſty in ſigning her own peace, whether the con- " federates intended to ſign theirs or no. But " ſeveral points being yet unfiniſhed between " both crowns, and others between *France* and " the reſt of the allies, eſpecially the States, to

" which

" which the plenipotentiaries of that court at " *Utrecht* had not thought fit to give ſatisfaction; " the Queen was now come to a final determi- " nation, both with relation to her own king- " doms, and to the whole alliance: that the cam- " paign approaching, ſhe would not willingly be " ſurpriſed in caſe the war was to go on: that " ſhe had tranſmitted to the Duke of *Shrewſ-* " *bury* her laſt reſolutions, and never would be " prevailed on to reduce her own demands, or " thoſe of her allies, any lower than the ſcheme " now ſent over, as an explanation of the plan " laid down in her ſpeech: that her Majeſty had " ſent orders to her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, " to aſſume the character of ambaſſadors, and " ſign the peace immediately with the miniſters " of the moſt Chriſtian King, as ſoon as the " Duke of *Shrewſbury* ſhould have ſent them no- " tice that the *French* had complied: that the " Queen had therefore farther prorogued her par- " liament to the third of *March*, in hopes to aſ- " ſure them, by that time, of her peace being a- " greed on; for if the two houſes ſhould meet, " while any uncertainty remained, ſupplies muſt " be aſked as for a war."

The Duke of *Shrewſbury* executed this important commiſſion with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, which could only be expected from an able miniſter. The *French* King immediately yielded to the whole ſcheme her Majeſty propoſed; whereupon directions were ſent to the Lord Privy-Seal, and

and the Earl of *Strafford*, to ſign a peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, without delay.

Upon the ſecond day of *March*, the two *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries met thoſe of the allies, in the town-houſe at *Utrecht*; where the Lord Privy-Seal addreſſed himſelf to them in a ſhort ſpeech, 'That the negociation had now continued four-'teen months with great flowneſs, which had 'proved very injurious to the intereſts of the al-'lies: that the Queen had ſtaid thus long, and 'ſtopped the finiſhing her own peace, rather 'than leave her allies in any uncertainty: that 'ſhe hoped they would now be all prepared to 'put an end to this great work; and therefore, 'had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell 'thoſe of the allies, that ſhe found it neceſſary 'to conclude her own treaty immediately; and 'it was her opinion, that the confederates ought 'to finiſh theirs at the ſame time, to which they 'were now accordingly invited by her Majeſty's 'orders." And laſtly, his Lordſhip declared, in the Queen's name, "That whoever could not be 'ready on the day prefixed, ſhould have a con-'venient time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders ſent by the Queen to her plenipotentiaries were very preciſe, yet their lordſhips did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as ſhort a day for the ſigning as they conveniently could: but, however, the particular day was left to their diſcretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and moſt of the other allies, to conclude at the ſame

ſame time with the Queen: which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, ſo they conceived it would be more ſafe for themſelves: beſides, upon looking over their commiſſion, a ſcruple ſprang in their minds, that they could not ſign a particular peace with *France*; their powers, as they apprehended, authoriſing them only to ſign a general one. Their lordſhips therefore ſent to *England* to deſire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themſelves with great induſtry, between the miniſters of *France*, and thoſe of the ſeveral allies, to find ſome expedient for ſmoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The Earl of *Strafford* went for a few days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her Majeſty's expreſs commands to his colleague and himſelf, for ſigning the peace as ſoon as poſſible; and to deſire they would be ready at the ſame time, which the penſionary promiſed; and that their plenipotentiaries ſhould be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Monſ. *Buys*, who was now ſo much altered, either in reality, or appearance, that he complained to the Earl, of Monſ. *Heinſius*'s ſlowneſs; and charged all the delays and miſmanagements of a twelvemonth paſt, to that miniſter's account.

While the Earl of *Strafford* ſtaid at the *Hague*, he diſcovered, that an emiſſary of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s had been there ſome days before, ſent by his Grace to diſſuade the *Dutch* from ſigning at the ſame time with the miniſters of the

ıe Queen, which in *England*, would at leaſt have ıe appearance of a ſeparate peace, and oblige ıeir *Britiſh* friends, who knew how to turn ſo ıort a delay to very good account, as well as ratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alledged, ıey ought to rely much more than on her Maſty. One of the States likewiſe told the Earl, That the ſame perſon, employed by the Duke, was then in conference with the magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* (which town had declared for the continuance of the war), to aſſure them, if they would hold off a little, they ſhould ſee an unexpected turn in the *Britiſh* parliament: that the Duke of *Marlborough* had a liſt of the diſcontented members in both houſes, who were ready to turn againſt the court; and, to crown all, that his Grace had certain intelligence of the Queen being in ſo ill a ſtate of health, as made it impoſſible for her to live above ſix weeks." So reſtleſs and indefatigable avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a deıe of revenge.

But repreſentations, which had been ſo often ried, were now offered too late. Moſt of the llies, except the Emperor, were willing to put n end to the war upon her Majeſty's plan; and he further delay of three weeks muſt be chiefly mputed to that litigious manner of treating, peuliar to the *French*; whoſe plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* inſiſted with obſtinacy upon many points, vhich at *Paris* Monſ. *de Torcy* had given up.

The Emperor expected to keep all he already poſſeſſed

thought that his Imperial Majesty ought down contented with his partage of N *Milan*; and to reſtore thoſe territories which he had taken from the rightful pr and by the poſſeſſion of which he wa dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by rev tiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewiſe objected to jeſty's expedient of ſuffering the Elect *varia* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certa tions, by way of ſecurity, until his electo reſtored. But the Queen, ſuppoſing t affected delays were intended only wi of continuing the war, reſolved to defer no longer on the Emperor's account.

In the middle of March 1712-13, a c rived at *Utrecht*, from *France*, with the general peace, as it had been agreed bet Duke of *Shrewſbury* and Monſ. *de Torcy* in every particular, relating to the inte pretenſions of the ſeveral allies, was b

other courier was diſpatched to *France*, upon ſome diſputes about inſerting the titles of her Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King, and to bring a general plan for the intereſts of thoſe allies, who ſhould not be ready againſt the time prefixed. The *French* renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*; and it was agreed, that thoſe, as well as that of the King of *Spain*, ſhould be inſerted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them.

The courier, laſt ſent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the twenty-ſeventh of *March*, with the conceſſions of that court upon every neceſſary point; ſo that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the Lord Privy-Seal and the Earl of *Strafford* gave notice to the miniſters of the ſeveral allies, "That "their Lordſhips had appointed *Tueſday* the thir-"ty-firſt inſtant, wherein to ſign a treaty of "peace, and a treaty of commerce, between the "Queen of *Great Britain*, their miſtreſs, and the "moſt Chriſtian King; and hoped the ſaid al-"lies would be prepared, at the ſame time, to "follow their example." Accordingly, their Lordſhips employed the three intervening days, in ſmoothing the few difficulties that remained between the *French* miniſters and thoſe of the ſeveral confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, having aſſumed the character of ambaſſadors extra-

ordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the *French* proteſtants to the Mareſchal *de Huxelles* and his colleague, who were to tranſmit it to their court; and theſe delivered to the *Britiſh* ambaſſadors a declaration in writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the Emperor and the Empire, as adjuſted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewiſe delivered to the Count *Zinzendorf*. Theſe, and ſome other previous matters of ſmaller conſequence, being finiſhed, the treaties of peace and commerce between her Majeſty of *Great Britain* and the moſt Chriſtian King, were ſigned at the Lord Privy-Seal's houſe, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The miniſters of the Duke of *Savoy* ſigned about an hour after. Then the aſſembly adjourned to the Earl of *Strafford*'s, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was ſigned by the miniſters of *Portugal*, by thoſe of *Pruſſia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

Thus, after all the oppoſition raiſed by a ſtrong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*; after all the artifices of thoſe who preſided at the *Hague*, and, for their private intereſt, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England* to prolong the war; after the reſtleſs endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm, ſteady conduct of the Queen, the wiſdom and courage of her miniſtry, and the abilities of thoſe whom ſhe employed

employed in her negociations abroad, prevailed to have a peace ſigned in one day by every power concerned, except that of the Emperor and the Empire; for his Imperial Majeſty liked his ſituation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other ſhoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himſelf.

During this whole negociation, the King of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had conſequently no miniſter at *Utrecht*; but the differences between her Majeſty and that Prince were eaſily ſettled by the Lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of *Monteleon* here; ſo that upon the Duke *D'Oſſuna*'s arrival at the congreſs, ſome days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the Queen and his Maſter. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their ſeveral treaties with his Catholic Majeſty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the ſeventh of *April*; on the twenty-eighth the ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of *May* the peace was proclaimed in the uſual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occaſion.

The REIGN of

WILLIAM the SECOND,

SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldeſt ſon *Robert*, upon ſome diſcontent with his father, being abſent in *France*, * *William*, the ſecond ſon, made uſe of this juncture; and, without attending his father's funeral, haſtened to *England*, where, purſuant to the will of the deceaſed prince, † the nobility, although more inclined to favour *Robert*, were prevailed with to admit him king, partly by his promiſes to abate the rigour of the late reign, and reſtore the laws and liberties which had been then aboliſhed, but chiefly by the credit and ſolicitations of *Lanfranc*; for that prelate had formerly a ſhare in his education, and always a great affection for his perſon. At

* He was then at Abbeville in Picardy.

† William the Conqueror on his death-bed left Normandy and Le Maine to his ſon Robert, as being his right of inheritance; not without adding, as ſome hiſtorians relate, that any people, whom Robert was to govern, would be miſerable. England, he ſaid, was not his property by inheritance; he would not preſume to bequeath to any one that kingdom, but left it to the diſpoſal of Heaven: however, ſo it pleaſed God, he ſhould be glad that William, his obedient and beſt beloved ſon, ſhould enjoy it after his death, and accordingly ordered letters to be expedited to archbiſhop Lanfranc, for facilitating William's acceſſion and eſtabliſhment there.

At *Wincheſter* he took poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure, * in obedience to whoſe command, as well as to ingratiate himſelf with the people, he diſtributed it among churches and religious houſes, and applied it to the redeeming of priſoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time *Robert* returned to *Normandy*, took poſſeſſion of that dutchy, with great applauſe and content of his people, and, ſpited at the indignity done him by his father, and the uſurpation of his brother in conſequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade *England*; nor did there want an occaſion to promote his intereſt, if the ſlowneſs, the ſoftneſs, and credulity of his nature, could have ſuffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo, biſhop of *Baieux*, † of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, ‡ a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character, being reſtored to his liberty and poſſeſſions in *England*, grew into envy and diſcontent, upon ſeeing *Lanfranc* preferred before him by the new king in his favour and miniſtry. He therefore formed a conſpiracy with ſeveral nobles of *Norman* birth to depoſe the king, and

* Which was ſixty thouſand pounds in ſilver, beſides gold, jewels, and plate. *Brompton.*

† *Odo* was half brother to *William the Conqueror*, and the firſt earl of *Kent* of *Norman* blood. He was releaſed from his confinement by order of the late king, at the ſolicitation of *Robert* earl of *Mortain*, *Odo*'s brother.

‡ One might imagine from theſe words, that Dr. *Swift* had written an account of the reign of *William the Conqueror*, if it had not been for what he ſays in his letter to Count *Gyllenborg*.

ſent an invitation to *Robert* to haſten over. Mean time the conſpirators, in order to diſtract the king's forces, ſeized on ſeveral parts of *England* at once; *Briſtol*, *Norwich*, *Leiceſter*, *Worceſter*, § *Shrewſbury*, *Bath* and *Durham*, were ſecured by ſeveral noblemen: *Odo* himſelf ſeized *Rocheſter*, reduced the coaſts of *Kent*, and ſent meſſages to *Robert* to make all poſſible ſpeed.

The king, alarmed at theſe many and ſudden defections, thought it his beſt courſe to begin his defence by ſecuring the good will of the people. He redreſſed many grievances, eaſed them of certain oppreſſive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his foreſt, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the neceſſity of the time, he had the ſkill or fortune ſo to order, as they neither loſt their good grace nor effect; for immediately after, he raiſed great forces both by land and ſea, marched into *Kent*, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered *Tunbridge* and *Pevenſey*, in the latter of which *Odo* himſelf was taken priſoner, and forced to accompany the king to *Rocheſter*. This city refuſing to ſurrender at the king's ſummons, *Odo* undertook to prevail with the obſtinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or ſeeming force: however, the king, provoked at their ſtubbornneſs and fraud, ſoon compelled them to yield, retook his

§ *Worceſter* however at this time ſuffered only a blockade. See the account of the operations there in *Green*'s late ſurvey of the city of *Worceſter*, p. 195.

his priſoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure *England*, ſent him into *Normandy*.

By theſe actions, performed with ſuch great celerity and ſucceſs, the preparations of duke *Robert* were wholly diſappointed; himſelf, by the neceſſity of his affairs, compelled * to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a ſmall penſion, and a mutual promiſe of ſucceeding to each other's dominions on failure of iſſue, forced to reſign his pretenſions, and return with a ſhattered fleet to *Normandy*.

About this time died archbiſhop *Lanfranc*; by whoſe death the king, looſed from that awe and conſtraint he was under, ſoon began to diſcover thoſe irregularities of his nature, which till then he had ſuppreſſed and diſguiſed, falling into thoſe acts

* *Samuel Daniel*, a very judicious epitomizer of our ancient hiſtory, places the concluſion of this treaty in 1087, ſoon after the eſtabliſhment of *Rufus* on the *Engliſh* throne, who might well think ſuch an expedient neceſſary at that time, for the reconciling an elder brother to the moſt mortifying of diſappointments. If the treaty was then made, *Robert*'s infraction of it, by an embarkation of troops in the very next year to ſuccour the *Engliſh* rebels, was a plauſible call for revenge, and accounts for the king's invaſion of *Normandy* in 1090. *Speed*, whom Dr. *Swift* follows here, has been ſo far miſled by *Knighton*, as to repreſent *Robert* making an actual deſcent on the *Engliſh* coaſt, landing at *Southampton*, amuſed there by humble meſſages from *Rufus*, cajoled into a reſignation of his claim, and induced to go back a penſioner inſtead of a king. But there is no trace of ſuch tranſactions in the purer narratives of more ancient hiſtorians. And if we follow thoſe of *Normandy*, who ought to have the beſt information of *Robert*'s motions, the duke neither embarked with, nor after his troops: he promiſed indeed to follow them with a greater force; but *indolence* got the better of his ambition.

acts of oppreſſion and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the ſee of *Canterbury* four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own uſe, together with thoſe of ſeveral other biſhopricks and abbies, * and diſpoſed all church preferments to the higheſt bidder. Nor were his exactions leſs upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended tranſgreſſion of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to obſerve mens actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth obſervation, that theſe corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of ſeveral learned men, given riſe to two cuſtoms, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, firſt, the ſucceſſors of this king, continuing the cuſtom of ſeizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of ſees and abbies, it grew in proceſs of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant biſhopricks belong at this day to the crown. The ſecond cuſtom had an original not unlike. Several perſons, to avoid the perſecutions of the king's informers, and other inſtruments

* As for *Rufus*'s appropriating to himſelf the revenues of vacant ſees, this was the reſult and expected conſequence of the feudal eſtabliſhment made by his father. For when the Conqueror had reduced epiſcopal and abbacial manours to military and baronial tenure, the care and profits of them, between the demiſe of each tenant and the entry or inſtallation of his ſucceſſor, by neceſſity of that tenure, devolved on the crown. But *Rufus* is deſervedly cenſured for keeping the prelacies vacant longer than was neceſſary, merely with an avaricious view.

ments of oppreſſion, withdrew themſelves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the ſame authors, the writ *ne exeas regno* had its beginning.

By theſe, and the like arbitrary methods, having amaſſed great treaſures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raiſed a powerful army to invade his brother in *Normandy*; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjuſt princes, That old oppreſſions are beſt juſtified by new; or, whether, having a talent for ſudden enterpriſes, and juſtly apprehending the reſentments of duke *Robert*, he thought it the wiſer courſe to prevent injuries, than to revenge them. In this expedition he took ſeveral cities and caſtles from his brother, and would have proceeded farther, if *Robert* had not deſired and obtained the aſſiſtance of *Philip* king of *France*, who came with an army to his relief. King *William* not thinking it ſafe or prudent to proceed further againſt his enemy ſupported by ſo great an ally, yet loath to loſe the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practiſed oftener, or with greater ſucceſs, and that was, to buy off the *French* king with a ſum of money. This had its effect; for that prince, not able to oppoſe ſuch powerful armies, immediately withdrew himſelf and his forces,

forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the meaſures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the ſide of king *William*; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to baniſh *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and, for a further ſecurity, brought over with him to *England* the duke himſelf, to attend him in his expedition againſt *Malcolm* king of *Scotland*, who, during his abſence, had invaded the borders. The king having raiſed great forces both by ſea and land, went in perſon to repel the inroads of the *Scots*: but the enterpriſe was without ſucceſs; for the greateſt part of his fleet was deſtroyed by a tempeſt, and his army very much diminiſhed by ſickneſs and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the king of *England* agreed to deliver him up thoſe twelve towns (or manours) in *England*, which *Malcolm* had held under *William the Conqueror*; together with a penſion of twelve thouſand marks*.

At

* So *Brompton* writes. But it is doubtful whether the *Normanic* or *Saxonic* mark of ſilver be underſtood. The former was a weight of eight ounces, the latter but an ounce and a half. If we compute by the mark of the *Normans*, the annuity ſtipulated for *Malcolm* was equivalent to about 186,000 l. of modern currency; a penſion ſcarce reconcilable with the ſtate of our exchequer in thoſe days. If the ſmaller or *Saxonic* mark be meant here (which had not yet fallen into diſuſe, as appears by the calculations by it in the laws of king *Henry* I.) the penſion is more reaſonable, being equivalent to about 35,000 l. of our preſent

At this time were ſown the ſeeds of another quarrel between him and duke *Robert*, who, ſoliciting the king to perform ſome covenants of the laſt peace, and meeting with a repulſe, withdrew with great diſcontent to *Normandy*.

King *William*, in his return from *Scotland*, fell dangerouſly ſick at *Gloceſter*; where, moved by the reaſonable exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to diſcover great marks of repentance, with many promiſes of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit to which good reſolutions, he immediately filled ſeveral vacant ſees, giving that of *Canterbury* to *Anſelm*, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the diſpoſition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their paſſions uſually beat ſtrong and weak with their pulſes, ſo it fared with this prince, who, upon recovery of his health, ſoon forgot the vows he had made in his ſickneſs, relapſing with greater violence into the ſame irregularities of injuſtice and oppreſſion; whereof *Anſelm*, the new archbiſhop, felt the firſt effects. This prelate, ſoon after his promotion, offered the king a ſum of money by way

ſent money. This at leaſt is rather to be admitted than the account of the greater part of our hiſtorians, who ſet down the proviſion made for the *Scottiſh* king at *twelve marks of gold per annum*, which amounts to but 72 *lb. Norman*, or 1700 l. in modern money; a penſion unworthy the magnificence of *Rufus*, and too mean for any reigning Prince to accept.

way of preſent; * but took care it ſhould be ſo ſmall, that none might interpret it to be a conſi-deration

* This whole account of the difference between the king and the archbiſhop is taken from *Eadmer*, a monk of *Canterbury*, and a creature of *Anſelm*'s. A benevolence had been demanded from all the nobility and the prelates towards the expence of the king's expedition to *Normandy* in 1094. If *Anſelm*, as it is ſaid, offered 500 l. towards it, as the ſhare or quota of his own ſee, that ſum (equivalent to at leaſt 11,500 l. of our currency) was far greater than a poor *Italian* monk, not yet poſſeſſed of the temporalties of *Canterbury*, could be expected to raiſe, and what, if his friends could advance it for him, the neceſſities of the king would not ſuffer him to reject: ſo that this part of *Eadmer*'s apology for his patron confutes itſelf. But in fact, the true ſource of the conteſt between this prelate and the king, was, the former's violent attachment to one of the contenders for the papacy, *Otho* of *Oſtia*, ſtyled *Urban* II. whom, when *Italy* had ſcarce acknowledged him, (for in 1091 the antipope *Clement* III. took *Rome*, and the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and drove *Urban* from *St. Peter*'s chair) *Anſelm* would imperiouſly impoſe on the king, prelates, and whole realm of *England*, as their apoſtolic father and pontiff. The king replied, that *his* predeceſſors in *Canterbury* had never taken ſo much upon them; and that when two popes had been choſen, *his* declaring for either without the approbation of the king, was an endeavour *to pluck from his ſovereign's head the crown of* England. A great council was ſummoned on this occaſion at *Rockingham*, *Mar.* 11, 1095, when the nobility and biſhops inſiſted on *Anſelm*'s ſubmiſſion to the king: he pleaded his privilege as primate, and would be judged by none but the pope, and by no pope but *Urban* II. It was however there determined, that *Anſelm* ſhould not demand his archiepiſcopal pall of *Urban* II. unleſs the king ſhould conſent. All the prelates, except the biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſays *Du Pin*, reſolved not to own *Anſelm* as primate, ſo long as he ſhould take part with the biſhop of *Oſtia* (*Urban* II.) But a rebellion which broke out in the empire, wherein *Conrad* the emperor's ſon roſe in arms againſt his father, proved extremely fortunate both for

Urban,

deration of his late preferment. The king rejected it with ſcorn; and as he uſed but little ceremony in ſuch matters, inſiſted in plain terms for more. *Anſelm* would not comply; and the king enraged, ſought all occaſions to make him uneaſy; until at length the poor archbiſhop, tired out with perpetual uſurpations (or at leaſt what was then underſtood to be ſuch) upon his juriſdiction, privileges, and poſſeſſions, deſired the king's licence for a journey to *Rome*; and, upon a refuſal, went without it. As ſoon as he was withdrawn, the king ſeized on all his revenues, converting them to his own uſe; and the archbiſhop continued an exile until the ſucceeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and archbiſhop, are not, in my opinion, conſiderable enough to deſerve a place in this brief

Urban, and for his factious inſtrument *Anſelm*. Wicked *Urban* was the ſeducer of this unnatural ſon; and the price of his benediction ſoon appeared. So far as *Conrad*'s ſword could influence, *Clement* III. was ejected: ſo that in 1095 *Urban* was acknowledged through *Lombardy*, but as yet was not maſter of *Rome*. Fortune now befriended, and even *William* of *England* was ready to acknowledge him. Accordingly this pope ſent an archiepiſcopal pall, for the ceremony of the king's inveſting *Anſelm* with the primacy: but the haughty monk refuſed the inveſtiture from the king's hand, and obſtinately perſiſted until the pope's meſſengers were allowed to lay the pall on the altar of *Canterbury* cathedral; whence he vouchſafed to take it (as the canting phraſe was) from *St. Peter's hand*, although the king had acknowledged and obliged his kingdom to acknowledge *Urban*, on this expreſs condition, that he ſhould be gratified with delivering *Urban*'s pall to the archbiſhop elect. Thus *Rufus*, who would not be bullied, was at laſt bubbled by a prieſt.

collection, being of little uſe to poſterity, and of leſs entertainment; neither ſhould I have mentioned it at all, but for the occaſion it gives me of making a general obſervation, which may afford ſome light into the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe ages. Not only this king's father and himſelf, but the princes for ſeveral ſucceſſions, of the faireſt character, have been ſeverely taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reaſon. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impreſſion, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally churchmen: and it muſt be confeſſed, that the uſurpations of the church and court of *Rome* were in thoſe ages riſen to ſuch heights, as to be altogether inconſiſtent either with the legiſlature or adminiſtration of any independent ſtate; the inferior clergy, both ſecular and regular, inſiſting upon ſuch immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the biſhops removing all controverſies with the crown by appeal to *Rome*: for they reduced the matter to this ſhort iſſue, that God was to be obeyed rather than men; and conſequently the biſhop of *Rome*, who is Chriſt's repreſentative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither doth it ſeem improbable that all *Chriſtendom* would have been in utter vaſſalage, both temporal and ſpiritual, to the *Roman* ſee, if the Reformation had not put a ſtop to thoſe exorbitancies, and in a good meaſure opened the eyes even of thoſe

thoſe princes and ſtates who ſtill adhere to the doctrines and diſcipline of that church.

While the king continued at *Glouceſter*, *Malcolm* king of *Scotland* came to this court, with intentions to ſettle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controverſy aroſe about ſome circumſtances relating to the homage which *Malcolm* was to pay, in the managing whereof king *William* diſcovered ſo much haughtineſs and diſdain, both in words and geſtures, that the *Scottiſh* prince, provoked by ſuch unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but ſoon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering *Northumberland* with fire and ſword, laid all waſte before him. But as all enterprizes have in the progreſs of them a tincture of thoſe paſſions by which they were ſpirited at firſt, ſo this invaſion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable paſſion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for *Robert Mowbray*, earl of *Northumberland*, to prevent the deſtruction of his own country, where he had great poſſeſſions, gathering what forces he could ſuddenly raiſe, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched againſt the *Scots*, who were then ſet down before *Alnwick* caſtle: there, by an ambuſh, *Malcolm* and his eldeſt ſon *Edward* were ſlain, and the army, diſcouraged by the loſs of their princes, entirely defeated. This diſaſter was followed in a few days by the death of queen *Margaret*, who, not able to ſurvive her

misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miſeries of that kingdom end, till, after two uſurpations, the ſurviving ſon of *Malcolm*, who had fled to *England* for refuge, was reſtored to his crown by the aſſiſtance of king *William*.

About this time the hidden ſparks of animoſity between the two brothers, buried, but not extinguiſhed in the laſt peace, began to flame out into new diſſenſions. Duke *Robert* had often ſent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redreſs, which provoked him to expoſtulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injuſtice and perjury. But no men are found to endure reproaches with leſs temper, than thoſe who moſt deſerve them. The king, at the ſame time, filled with indignation, and ſtung with guilt, invaded *Normandy* a ſecond time, reſolving to reduce his brother to ſuch terms as might ſtop all further complaints. He had already taken ſeveral ſtrong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and, intending intirely to ſubdue the dutchy, gave orders to have twenty thouſand men immediately raiſed in *England*, and ſent over to him. The duke, to defend himſelf againſt theſe formidable preparations, had recourſe again to his old ally the king of *France*, who very readily advanced with an army to his aſſiſtance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts: for, beſide the appearance of glory and juſtice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preſerving his neighbouring

ing ſtate in the hands of a peaceful prince, from ſo powerful and reſtleſs an enemy as the king of *England*; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for king *William*, either loath to engage in a long and dangerous war, or haſtened back by intelligence of ſome troubles from *Wales*, ſent offers to his army, juſt ready to embark for *Normandy*, that upon payment of ten ſhillings a man, they might have leave to return to their homes. This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the king of *France*, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king *William*, now maſter of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this paſſage there are ſome circumſtances which may appear odd and unaccountable to thoſe who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an abſent prince engaged in an unjuſt war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, ſhould have ſo much power and credit, as by his commiſſion to raiſe twenty thouſand men on a ſudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he ſhould have a fleet prepared, ready, and large enough to tranſport ſo great a number; that upon the very point of embarking, he ſhould ſend them ſo diſgraceful an offer; and that ſo great a number of common ſoldiers ſhould be able and willing to pay ſuch a ſum of money, * equal to at leaſt

* The *Saxon* Chronicle, *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, and *Matthew Paris*

twelve times as much in our times †; and that, after being thus deluded and ſpoiled at once, they ſhould peaceably diſband and retire to their ſeveral homes. But all this will be leſs difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raiſing and ſupporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in uſe, and ſo continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars with a proportioned number of ſoldiers, who were their tenants on eaſy rents in conſideration of military ſervice. This was but the work of a few days; and the troops conſiſted of ſuch men as were able to maintain their own charges at home or abroad: neither was there any reaſon to apprehend, that ſoldiers would ever become inſtruments for introducing ſlavery, who held ſo great a ſhare in the property.

The

Paris ſay, that *Ralf*, the treaſurer, took from the men the money which had been paid them for their maintenance. Yes, ſays Sir *Henry Spelman*, the money which the country had allowed them for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that if each man paid ten ſhillings, it might not be from his own purſe.

† It might more juſtly be ſaid, equal to four and twenty times as much in our times: for the genuine ſilver in the ſum of ten ſhillings of *Norman* tale, was of equal weight with the ſilver that is found in twenty nine ſhillings of our preſent ſtandard coin; i. e. weighed 5 oz. and about 13 pwt. and each ounce of ſilver was at that time worth at leaſt eight times more than at preſent. Whence we may collect, that ten ſhillings of *Rufus*'s money was equivalent to at leaſt twelve pounds ſterl. of our preſent currency. The curious reader may conſult biſhop *Fleetwood's Chronicon precioſum*, and a ſynoptical table of the variations in the ſtandard of *Engliſh* coin, by *Martin Folkes*, Eſq; publiſhed in an anonymous *Eſſay upon Money and Coins*.

The king, upon his return from *Normandy*, made an unſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Welſh*, who, upon the advantages of his abſence, had, according to their uſual cuſtom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of *Cheſter*, *Shrewſbury*, and *Hereford*. Upon the king's approach, they fled into their faſtneſſes among the mountains, where he purſued them for ſome time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loſs of great numbers of his men, to no purpoſe. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for *Robert* Earl of *Northumberland*, overrating his late ſervices againſt the *Scots*, as much perhaps and as unjuſtly as they were undervalued by the king, refuſed to come to his court, which, in thoſe days, was looked on as the firſt uſual mark of diſcontent in a nobleman; and was often charged by princes as a formal accuſation. The Earl having diſobeyed the king's ſummons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depoſe king *William*, and ſet up *Stephen* Earl of *Albemarle*, ſon of a ſiſter to *William the Conqueror*: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that inſurrections are beſt quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible ſpeed, and ſurpriſed the rebels at *Newcaſtle*, took the caſtles of *Tinmouth* and *Bamburg* *; where the obſtinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their perſons, by cutting

* Now called *Bamborough*.

Chriſtendom, that he became in his own perſon the leader of a great army againſt the Infidels, and was very inſtrumental for engaging many others in the ſame deſign.

What a ſpirit was thus raiſed in *Chriſtendom*, among all ſorts of men, cannot better be conceived, than from the vaſt numbers of theſe warlike pilgrims, who, at the ſiege of *Nice*, are ſaid to have conſiſted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horſe: and the ſucceſs at firſt was anſwerable to the greatneſs of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the univerſal opinion of ſuch a cauſe; for, beſides ſeveral famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of leſs importance, they took *Nice*, *Antioch*, and at laſt *Jeruſalem*, where Duke *Godfrey* was choſen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthuſiaſm, as I take this to have been, is a compoſition only fit for ſudden enterprizes, like a ferment in the blood, giving double courage and ſtrength for the time, until it ſink and ſettle by nature into its old channel: for, in a few years the piety of theſe adventurers began to ſlacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this ſpirit of devotion, there ſucceeded a ſpirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the *Holy Land* became either a ſchool, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a ſcene wherein they affected to ſhew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The

The Chriſtians held poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem* a-ve eighty years *, and continued their expedi-ns to the *Holy Land* almoſt as many more, th various events; and after they were entire-driven out of *Aſia*, the popes have almoſt in ry age endeavoured in vain to promote new ıſadoes; neither does this ſpirit ſeem quite ex-ct among us even to this day; the uſual pro-ts of ſanguine men for uniting *Chriſtendom* a-inſt the *Turk*, being without doubt a tradi-nal way of talk derived to us from the ſame ıntain.

Robert, in order to furniſh himſelf out for this r, pawned his dutchy to the King for 10,000 ırks of gold †; which ſum was levied with ſo ıny circumſtances of rigour and exaction, to-ırds the church and laity, as very much in-ıaſed the diſcontents of both againſt the Prince.

1099. I ſhall record one act of this King's, ıich being chiefly perſonal, may paſs rather for part of his character, than a point of hiſtory.

As he was hunting one day in the *New Foreſt*, meſſenger expreſs from *Normandy*, brought him telligence, that *Helie*, Count *de la Fleche*, had id cloſe ſiege to *Mans*, and expected to carry e town in a few days. The King, leaving his ıace, commanded ſome about him to point hereabout *Mans* lay; and ſo rode ſtraight on ithout reflection, until he came to the coaſt. His

* They held it eighty-eight years; from *July* 1099, to *Octo-* 1187.

† Equal to 1,400,000 *l.* as money paſſes now.

His attendants adviſed him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned, "They that love me, will fol-"low me." He entered the ſhip in a violent ſtorm; which the mariners beholding with aſtoniſhment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the King commanded them inſtantly to put off to ſea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the Count himſelf priſoner, who raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed ‡, "That this blow was "from fortune; but valour could make repriſals, "as he ſhould ſhew, if ever he regained his li-"berty." This being told the King, he ſent for the Count, let him underſtand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horſe, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worſt.

It

‡ There is ſo much pleaſantry and humour, as well as ſpirit and heroiſm in this ſtory, as we have it recorded by *William de Malmeſbury*, who repreſents the menace as thrown out in the king's preſence, that I ſhall make no apology for ſetting down his words at length. "Author turbarum Helias capitur; cui "ad ſe adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magiſter, inquit.' "At ille, cujus alta nobilitas neſciret etiam in tanto periculo "ſapere; 'Fortuito, inquit, me cepiſti: ſi poſſum evadere, no-"vi quid facerem.' Tunc Willielmus, præ furore fere extra ſe "poſitus, et obtuens Heliam, 'Tu, inquit, nebulo, tu quid fa-"ceres! Diſcede; abi; fuge. Concedo tibi ut facias quicquid "poteris: et per vultum de Luca, nihil, ſi me viceris, nihil "pro hac venia tecum paciſcar.'" *i. e.* By the face of St. *Luke*, if thou ſhouldſt have the fortune to conquer me, I ſcorn to compound with thee for my releaſe.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let paſs an action, by which he acquired more honour than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without ſome ſeeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not over-run by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing elſe in this king's reign that deſerved to be remembered; for, as to an unſucceſsful expedition or two againſt *Wales*, either by himſelf or his generals, they were very inconſiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumſtances that might render a relation of them of any uſe to poſterity, either for inſtruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of caſualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the perſon of a prince is generally leſs ſubject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exerciſe of hunting in the *New Foreſt* of *Hampſhire*, a large ſtag croſſed the way before him: the King, hot on his game, cried out in haſte to *Walter Tyrrel*, a a knight of his attendants, to ſhoot; *Tyrrel* immediately let fly his arrow, which, glancing againſt a tree, ſtruck the King through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without ſpeaking a word. Upon the ſurpriſe of this accident, all his attendants, and *Tyrrel* * among the reſt, fled different ways; until the fright being a little o-

* Yet *Eadmer* ſaith, That *Tyrrel* told him, he had not been in the Foreſt that day.

ver, ſome of them returned, and cauſing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to *Wincheſter*, where it was buried the next day without ſolemnity, and, which is worſe, without grief.

I ſhall conclude the hiſtory of this prince's reign, with a deſcription and character of his body and mind, impartially, from the collections I have made; which method I ſhall obſerve likewiſe in all the ſucceeding reigns.

He was in ſtature ſomewhat below the uſual ſize, and big-bellied; but he was well and ſtrongly knit. His hair was yellow or ſandy; his face red, which got him the name of *Rufus*; his forehead flat; his eyes were ſpotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to ſtutter in ſpeaking, eſpecially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good conſtitution of health, and the frequent exerciſe of hunting: in his dreſs he affected gaiety and expence, which, having been firſt introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in ſucceeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He alſo firſt brought in among us luxury and profuſion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree; only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For, being entirely a man of pleaſure, this made

made him ſacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occaſions of producing his ill ones. He had one very ſingular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promiſe *: he was of undoubted perſonal valour, whereof the writers in thoſe ages produce ſeveral inſtances; nor did he want ſkill and conduct in the proceſs of war. But, his peculiar excellency was that of great diſpatch, which, however uſually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often anſwer all the ends of ſecrecy and counſel in a great commander, by ſurpriſing and daunting an enemy when he leaſt expects it; as may appear by the greateſt actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of ſound natural ſenſe, as well as of wit and humour, upon occaſion. There were ſeveral tenets in the *Romiſh* church he could not digeſt, particularly that of the ſaints interceſſion; and living in an age over-run with ſuperſtition, he went ſo far into the other extreme, as to be cenſured for an atheiſt. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which ſeemed to forebode him ſome misfortune, the King being told the matter, turned it into a jeſt; ſaid, The man was a monk, and dreamt like a monk, for lucre ſake; and therefore, commanded *Fitzhamon* to give him an hundred ſhillings,

* Yet he was ſometimes guilty of breach of his faith in treaties. But, he is not the only prince who in different characters had different meaſures of right and wrong; a public and a private conſcience.

that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpoſe.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a ſanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleaſures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expences *. To ſupply theſe, the people were perpetually oppreſſed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that ſort of avarice which ariſes from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, ſo it is much more ravenous and violent than the other, which put the King and his evil inſtruments (among whom *Ralph*, biſhop of *Durham*, is of ſpecial infamy) upon thoſe pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppreſſion; whereof ſome are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers, for diſcovering a contempt of religion in his common diſcourſe and behaviour; which I take to have riſen from the ſame fountain, being a point of art, and

* Not from his attachment to groſſer pleaſures; but from his vanity, ſtudy of magnificence, buildings, affectation of generoſity, and profuſeneſs in rewarding the bravery of his ſoldiers. The Monks bring againſt him a general charge of incontinency; but mention no particulars: no ſpurious iſſue is heard of; no miſtreſs raiſed to rank and ſplendour; not the name of any of his private favourites has reached us. Had he been as tractable to *Anſelm*, as *Edgar* was to *Dunſtan;* had he laid his ſceptre under the feet of that inſolent bigot; the ſame Monks would have celebrated his piety, and palliated his failings; as the popes were equally grateful to *Dunſtan*, *Anſelm*, and *Becket*, by exalting thoſe incendiaries into ſaints.

and a known expedient, for men, who cannot quit their immoralities, at leaſt to baniſh all reflections that may diſturb them in the enjoyment, which muſt be done either by not thinking of religion at all, or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one inſtance that might ſhew him to have ſome ſenſe of religion as well as juſtice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting the price of an abbey, he obſerved a third at ſome diſtance, who ſaid never a word. The King demanded why he would not offer: The monk ſaid, he was poor, and beſides, would give nothing if he were ever ſo rich. The King replied, Then you are the fitteſt perſon to have it; and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reaſon enough, aſſigned more to caprice than conſcience; for he was under the power of every humour and paſſion that poſſeſſed him for the preſent; which made him obſtinate in his reſolves, and unſteady in the proſecution.

He had one vice or folly that ſeemed rooted in his mind, and of all others moſt unbefitting a prince: this was a proud diſdainful manner, both in his words and geſtures; and having already loſt the love of his ſubjects, by his avarice and oppreſſion, this finiſhed the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his ſervants; ſo that few among the worſt of princes have had the luck to be ſo ill-beloved, or ſo little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the ſtate, although not for the ſex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of *Chriſt* 1100, *Auguſt* 2.

His works of piety were few; but in buildings he was very expenſive, exceeding any king of *England* before or ſince; among which, *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *Windſor Caſtle*, the *Tower* of *London*, and the whole city of *Carliſle*, remain laſting monuments of his magnificence.

The REIGN of

HENRY the FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngeſt ſon of *William the Conqueror*, and bred to more learning than was uſual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the ſurname of *Beauclerc*; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in *England*, and born ſon of a king, although of little weight in themſelves, did very much ſtrengthen his pretenſions with the people. Beſides, he had the ſame advantages of his brother *Robert*'s abſence, which had proved before ſo ſucceſsful to *Rufus*, whoſe treaſures he likewiſe ſeized on immediately at his death, after the ſame manner, and for the ſame end, as *Rufus* did thoſe of his father the *Conqueror*. *Robert* had been now five years abſent in the *Holy War*, where he acquitted himſelf with great glory; and although he was now in *Apulia*, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of *Jeruſalem*, *Henry* laid hold of the occaſion, and calling together an aſſembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm at *London*, upon his promiſes to reſtore king *Edward*'s laws, and redreſs the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they conſented to elect him king.

king *. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuſes of the late reign: he baniſhed diſſolute perſons from the court, who had long infeſted it under the protection and example of *Rufus*: he reſtored the people to the uſe of lights in the night, which the *Conqueror* had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he publiſhed his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in *England*. This charter was, in ſubſtance, the freedom of mother church from former oppreſſions; leave to the heirs of nobles to ſucceed in the poſſeſſion of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief †; abolition of fines for

* Notwithſtanding the phraſe *electus eſt* be uſed on this occaſion, by *Henry* of *Huntington*, and *William* of *Malmſbury*, there ſeems to be a manifeſt impropriety in it. The barons convened at *London*, upon news of *William*'s death, pretended to no power of electing a monarch, but of declaring to whom the crown had devolved. A falſe charge of illegitimacy was made uſe of to deſtroy the title of *Robert*. *Impoſuerunt ei illegitimatem, quod non fuerat procreatus de legitimo thoro Willielmi Conqueſtoris; unde unanimi aſſenſu ſuo ipſum refutaverunt, et pro rege omnino recuſaverunt, et Henricum fratrem in regem creaverunt.* *Knyghton*. The body of barons, or great council of the land, were, in all ſuch emergencies, deemed the interpreters or judges of the law of ſucceſſion.

† This was in appearance a very important conceſſion, and yet proved of little uſe; for ſo long as the meaſure and proportion of ſuch *relief* (or fine upon admittance) was left undetermined, a door was ſtill open for grievous exactions. Whence the barons, in their famous convention with king *John*, obliged him to ſettle the *relief* of their heirs, at 100 pounds for an earl's barony,

for licence of marriage to their heireſſes; a promiſe of not refuſing ſuch licence, unleſs the match propoſed be with the king's enemy *, *&c.* the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; puniſhments for coiners of falſe money; a confirmation of *St. Edward*'s laws; and a general amneſty.

About the ſame time he performed two acts of juſtice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his perſon: the firſt was, to impriſon *Ralph*, biſhop of *Durham*, who, having been raiſed by the late king from a mean and ſordid birth to be his prime confident and miniſter, became the chief inſtrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppreſſions: the ſecond was, in recalling and reſtoring archbiſhop *Anſelm*, who, having been forced by the continual perſecutions of the ſame prince,

barony, 100 marks for a common barony, and 100 ſhillings for a knight's fief; which was the ancient fine upon ſucceſſion, and was ſuppoſed to be a fourth part of the yearly income of the reſpective inheritances. *See Magna Charta*, art. 3. "*Hæres ſuus* "*plenæ ætatis*——*habeat hæreditatem ſuam per antiquum elevium*, "*ſcil. hæres comitis*," &c. That there were very great abuſes in this branch of the royal revenue in the preceding reign, may appear from the *relief* exacted of *Robert de Beleſme* earl of *Shrewſbury*, upon his ſucceeding in 1098 to the baronies of his elder brother: this, we are told by *Ordericus Vitalis*, was 3000 *l.*; an enormous ſum in thoſe times, and equivalent to about 69,700 *l.* in the preſent. A nobleman, reduced to compound in this manner with the crown, before he could have legal poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate, might well be ſaid to redeem it.

* *i. e.* With a traitor or malecontent.

prince, to leave *England*, had lived ever ſince in baniſhment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne, when the news came, that duke *Robert*, returned from the *Holy Land*, was received by his ſubjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in univerſal reputation for his valour and ſucceſs againſt the infidels: ſoon after which, *Ralph* biſhop of *Durham*, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, eſcaped out of priſon, and fled over to the duke; whom he ſtirred up to renew and ſolicit his pretenſions to the crown of *England*, by writing to ſeveral nobles, who, either through old friendſhip, or new diſcontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promiſes of their aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he ſhould land in *England*: but the duke, having returned exceeding poor from the *Holy Land*, was not yet in a condition for ſuch an undertaking; and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more ſeaſonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto, with great induſtry, ſought all occaſions to gratify his people, ſo he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was *Matilda*, daughter of *Malcolm* the late king of *Scots*; a lady of great piety and virtue, who, by the power or perſuaſion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloyſter for a crown, after ſhe had, as ſome writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was ſiſter to *Edgar Atheling*, the laſt heir male of the *Saxon* race; of whom frequent mention hath been made in the two preceding reigns; and thus the *Saxon* line, to the great

great contentment of the *Engliſh* nation, was again reſtored.

Duke *Robert*, having now with much difficulty and oppreſſion of his ſubjects, raiſed great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, reſolved once more to aſſert his title to the crown of *England*: to which end he had for ſome time held a ſecret correſpondence with ſeveral nobles, and lately received freſh invitations. The king, on the other ſide, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the ſea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of ſeveral ſhips, whether *Robert* had won them by his bribes, or his promiſes, inſtead of offering reſiſtance, became his guides, and brought his fleet ſafe into *Portſmouth*, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to *Wincheſter*, his army hourly encreaſing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his perſon, an opinion of his title, or a hatred to the king. In the mean time, *Henry* advanced with his forces, to be near the duke, and obſerve his motions; but, like a wiſe general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifeſt advantage. Beſides, he knew very well that his brother was a perſon whoſe policy was much inferior to his valour, and therefore to be ſooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both ſides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at laſt concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the king, *Robert* renouncing his pretenſions, in

conſideration

his return to *Normandy* after this diſho
peace, grew out of all reputation with th
as well as into perfect hatred and con
mong his own ſubjects, which in a ſh
was the cauſe of his ruin.

The King, having thus by his prudenc
of a dangerous and troubleſome rival, and
ter by his valour quelled the inſurrectio
earls of *Shrewſbury* and *Mortain*, whom l
to fly into *Normandy*, found himſelf in fi
at home and abroad, and therefore thc
might venture a contention with the c
bout the right of inveſting biſhops; upc
ſubject many other princes at that time l
troverſy with their clergy: but, after lo
gling in vain, were all forced to yield a
the decree of a ſynod in *Rome*, and to the
cy of the biſhops in the ſeveral countri
form of inveſting a biſhop, was by deli
ring and a paſtoral ſtaff; which, at *Rome*,
clared unlawful to be performed by any

them. This the archbiſhop refuſed with great firmneſs, purſuant to what he underſtood to be his duty, and to ſeveral immediate commands of the pope. Both ſides adhering to their own ſentiments, the matter was carried to *Rome*, where *Anſelm* went in perſon, by the king's deſire; who, at the ſame time, ſent ambaſſadors thither to aſſert and defend his cauſe: but the pope ſtill inſiſting, *Anſelm* was forbidden to return to *England*. The king ſeized on all his revenues, and would not reſtore him, until, upon other conceſſions of the pope, *Henry* was content to yield up his pretenſions to the inveſtiture; but, however, kept the right of electing ſtill in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing biſhops, in the more primitive ages, it ſeems plain to me, that in theſe times, and ſomewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum & populum*; yet the king always nominated at firſt, or approved afterwards, and generally both, as may be ſeen by the ſtyle in which their elections ran, as well as by the perſons choſen, who were uſually churchmen of the court, or in ſome employment near the king. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the ſpiritual power, I had rather leave others to diſpute.

1104. About this time, duke *Robert* came to *England*, upon a viſit to the king, where he was received with much kindneſs and hoſpitality; but, at the ſame time, the queen had private directions to manage his eaſy temper, and work him to a conſent of remitting his penſion: this was com-

paſſed without much difficulty: but, upon the duke's return to *Normandy*, he was ſeverely reproved for his weakneſs by *Ralph* biſhop of *Durham*, and the two earls of *Mortain* and *Shrewſbury*. Theſe three having fled from *England* for rebellion, and other treaſons, lived exiles in *Normandy*; and, bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, reſolved to ſtir up the duke to a reſentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. *Robert*, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the preſent perſuader, eaſily yielded to their incitements; reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and meſſages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding ſatisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the ſame time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himſelf as formidably as he could, with deſign to ſeize upon the king's poſſeſſions in *Normandy*: but as this reſolution was raſhly taken up, ſo it was as faintly purſued, and ended in his deſtruction: neither hath any prince reaſon to expect better fortune, that engages in a war againſt a powerful neighbour upon the counſel or inſtigation of exiles, who having no farther view than to ſerve their private intereſt, or gratify their revenge, are ſure to ſucceed in one or other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falſeſt repreſentations of their own ſtrength, and the weakneſs of their enemy: for as the king was now ſettled in his throne too firm to be ſhaken, ſo *Robert* had wholly loſt his credit and

and friendſhip in *England;* was ſunk in reputation at home; and, by his unlimited profuſeneſs, reduced ſo low, that, having pawned moſt of his dominions, he had offered *Rouen*, his capital city, in ſale to the inhabitants. 1105.

All this was very well known to the king, who, reſolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the diſgraceful ſpeeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occaſion of a quarrel. Therefore, he firſt ſent over ſome forces to ravage his country; and, underſtanding that the duke was coldly ſupported by his own ſubjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he ſoon followed in perſon with more; took ſeveral towns; and, placing garriſons therein, came back to *England*, deſigning, with the firſt pretext or opportunity, to return with a more potent army, and wholly ſubdue the dutchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown ſenſible of his weakneſs, became wholly diſpirited; and following his brother into *England*, in a moſt dejected manner begged for peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in diſdain, muttering at the ſame time ſome threatening words. This indignity rouſed up once more the ſinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, deteſting the pride and inſolence of *Henry*, withdrew in a rage, and haſtening back to *Normandy*, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king obſerving his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being

aſſured that thoſe in *Normandy* would, upon his approach, revolt from the duke, ſoon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival, he was attended, according to his expectation, by ſeveral *Norman* lords; and, with this formidable force, ſat down before *Tenerchebray*. The duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what ſtrength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the ſiege of ſo important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's truſting to their numbers, began the charge with great fury, but without any order. The duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmneſs; and, finding they had ſpent their firſt heat, advanced very regularly againſt their main body, before they could recover themſelves from the confuſion they were in. He attacked them with ſo much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every ſide. The king, believing all was loſt, did what he could, by threats and gentle words, to ſtop the flight of his men, but found it impoſſible: then he commanded two bodies of horſe, which were placed in either wing, to join, and wheeling about, to attack the enemy in the rear. The duke, who thought himſelf ſo near a victory, was forced to ſtop his purſuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew. Meantime, the ſcattered parts of the main body, which had ſo lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the *Normans* behind, by which

1106.

which duke *Robert's* army was almoſt encompaſſed; yet they kept their ground a while, and made ſeveral charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There, duke *Robert*, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken priſoner, together with the earl of *Mortain*, and almoſt his whole army: for being hemmed in on all ſides, few of them could make their eſcape. Thus, in the ſpace of forty years, *Normandy* ſubdued *England*, and *England Normandy*; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages of the world. 1107.

The king, having ſtaid a while to ſettle the ſtate of *Normandy*, returned with his brother into *England*, whom he ſent priſoner to *Cardiff* caſtle, with orders that he ſhould be favourably uſed, which, for ſome time, were duly obſerved; until being accuſed of attempting to make his eſcape (whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning baſin, by the king's expreſs commands; in which miſerable condition he lived for ſix and twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with ſo little pretence or provocation, if the pope had not openly approved and ſanctified his cauſe, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which ſeems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of Chriſt to a prince who had performed ſo many brave exploits for the ſervice of the Church, to the hazard of his perſon, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigotted monks, who have

left us their accounts of thoſe times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the *Roman* court for bribery and corruption. And the king had promiſed to remit his right of inveſting biſhops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of *Normandy*, and was a matter of much more ſervice to the pope, than all the achievements of duke *Robert* in the Holy Land, whoſe merits, as well as pretenſions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time, the emperor *Henry* V. ſent to deſire *Maude* the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: that prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the ſee of *Rome*, which began upon the ſame ſubject of inveſting biſhops, but was carried to great extremities: for, invading *Italy* with a mighty army, he took the pope priſoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impoſe, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands. However, as ſoon as *Henry* had withdrawn his forces, the pope aſſembling a council, revoked all his conceſſions, as extorted by compulſion, and raiſed great troubles in *Germany* againſt the emperor, who, in order to ſecure himſelf, ſought this alliance with the king.

About this time likewiſe, died archbiſhop *Anſelm*, a prelate of great piety and learning, whoſe zeal for the ſee of *Rome*, as well as for his own rights and privileges, ſhould in juſtice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the ſteps of his brother, held the ſee vacant five years,

contenting

contenting himſelf with an excuſe, which looked like a jeſt, that he only waited until he could find another ſo good a man as *Anſelm*.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign, the *Welſh*, after their uſual manner, invaded the marches with great fury and deſtruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to thoſe perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in perſon againſt them with a powerful army; and, to prevent their uſual ſtratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other faſtneſſes, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beſet all their places of ſecurity, and hunting them like wild beaſts, made ſo terrible a ſlaughter, that at length, obſerving them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his ſoldiers to forbear; then receiving their ſubmiſſions, and placing garriſons where he thought neceſſary, he returned, in great triumph and ſatisfaction, to *London*.

1114. The princeſs *Maude* being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambaſſador; and for a portion to the young lady, a tax was impoſed of three ſhillings upon every hide of land in *England*, which grew afterwards into a cuſtom,* and was in ſucceeding times confirmed by acts of parliament, under the name of *Reaſonable*

* This ſort of impoſition was new to the *Engliſh*; but was a conſequence of the military tenure eſtabliſhed by the Conqueror. The like *aid*, or *ſcutage*, as it was called, had been levied in other parts of *Europe*, whetever the feudal ſyſtem had taken place, as oft

able Aid for marrying the King's Daughter, although levied after a different manner.

As the inſtitution of parliaments in *England* is agreed by ſeveral writers to be owing to this king, ſo that the date of the firſt hath been aſſigned by ſome to the fifteenth year of his reign; which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the *Saxon* princes, who firſt introduced them into this iſland, from the ſame original with the other *Gothic* forms of government in moſt parts of *Europe*. Theſe councils or aſſemblies were compoſed according to the pleaſure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and biſhops, ſometimes were added ſome conſiderable commoners; but they ſeldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who being a wiſe and popular prince, called theſe great aſſemblies upon moſt important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice; which, if it proved ſucceſsful, the honour and advantage redounded to him; and if otherwiſe, he was free from the blame: thus, when he choſe a wife for himſelf, and a huſband for his daughter, when he deſigned his expedition againſt *Robert*, and even for

oft as the lord of the fief had occaſion to celebrate the nuptials of his eldeſt daughter, or the knighthood of his eldeſt ſon. We ſhould have heard of this demand earlier in *England*, if any ſuch occaſion had happened. *Maude* was the firſt princeſs-royal given in marriage after the conqueſt.

for the election of an archbiſhop to the ſee of *Canterbury*, he proceeded wholly by the advice of ſuch general aſſemblies, ſummoned for the purpoſe. But the ſtyle of theſe conventions, as delivered by ſeveral authors, is very various: ſometimes it is *comites, barones, & cleri*; * his marriage was agreed on, *conſilio majorum natu & magnatum terræ*. One author † calls it *conſilium principum, ſacerdotum, & reliqui populi*. And for the election of an archbiſhop, the *Saxon* chronicle ſays, that he commanded, by letters, all biſhops, abbots, and thanes, to meet him at *Gloceſter, ad procerum conventum*. Laſtly, ſome affirm theſe aſſemblies to have been an imitation of the three eſtates in *Normandy*. I am very ſenſible how much time and pains have been employed by ſeveral learned men to ſearch out the original of parliaments in *England*, wherein I doubt they have little ſatisfied others or themſelves. I know likewiſe, that, to engage in the ſame enquiry, would neither ſuit my abilities nor my ſubject. It may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, if I be able to give ſome little light into this matter, for the curioſity of thoſe who are leſs informed.

The inſtitution of a ſtate or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the ſchools, however it be derided as a ſoleciſm and abſurdity by ſome late writers on politics, hath been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the graveſt authors of antiquity. For although the ſupreme power

* *Brompton.* † *Polydore Virgil.*

power cannot properly be ſaid to be divided, yet it may be ſo placed in three ſeveral hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoiſe in each ſcale. Thus the kingdom of *Media* is repreſented by *Xenophon* before the reign of *Cyrus*: ſo *Polybius* tells us, the beſt government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, & populi imperio*: the ſame was that of *Sparta* in its primitive inſtitution by *Lycurgus*, made up of *reges, ſeniores, & populus*; the like may be aſſerted of *Rome, Carthage*, and other ſtates; and the *Germans* of old fell upon the ſame model, from whence the *Goths* their neighbours, with the reſt of thoſe northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an aſſembly of the three eſtates is not properly of *Gothic* inſtitution: for theſe fierce people, when, upon the decline of the *Roman* empire, they firſt invaded *Europe*, and ſettled ſo many kingdoms in *Italy, Spain*, and other parts, were all heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themſelves in a tract of land, left deſolate by the flight or deſtruction of the natives, their military government, by time and peace, became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and miniſters of ſtate, and the common ſoldiers the body of the people; but theſe were freemen, and had ſmaller portions of land aſſigned them. The remaining natives were all ſlaves; the nobles were a ſtanding council; and upon affairs of great importance,

, the freemen were likewiſe called by their eſentatives to give their advice. By which it ars, that the *Gothic* frame of government ifted at firſt but of two ſtates or aſſemblies, er the adminiſtration of a ſingle perſon. But r the converſion of theſe princes and their ple to the Chriſtian faith, the Church became wed with great poſſeſſions, as well by the nty of kings, as the arts and induſtry of the gy, winning upon the devotion of their new rerts: and power, by the common maxim, al- s accompanying property, the eccleſiaſtics n ſoon to grow conſiderable, to form them- es into a body, and to call aſſemblies or ſy- s by their own authority, or ſometimes by the mand of their princes, who in an ignorant had a mighty veneration for their learning as l as piety. By ſuch degrees the Church arri- at length, by very juſtifiable ſteps, to have ſhare in the commonwealth, and became a d eſtate in moſt kingdoms of *Europe*. But e aſſemblies, as we have already obſerved, e ſeldom called in *England* before the reign of prince, nor even then were always compoſed r the ſame manner: neither does it appear, n the writers who lived neareſt to that age, : the people had any repreſentative at all, be- the barons and other nobles, who did not ſit hoſe aſſemblies by virtue of their birth or crea- , but of the lands or baronies they held. So the preſent conſtitution of the *Engliſh* parlia- nt hath, by many degrees and alterations,

been

been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I ſhall obſerve in the ſucceeding reigns, as exactly as I can diſcover them, by a diligent ſearch into the hiſtories of the ſeveral ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return: *Louis the Groſs* king of *France*, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, ſucceeding to that crown, that *Robert* was deprived of, *Normandy* grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of King *Henry*, and begun early to entertain deſigns, either of ſubduing that dutchy to himſelf, or at leaſt of making a conſiderable party againſt the King in favour of *William*, ſon of *Robert*, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Purſuant to theſe intentions, he ſoon found an occaſion for a quarrel expoſtulating with *Henry*, that he had broken his promiſe by not doing homage for the dutchy of *Normandy*, as well as by neglecting to raze the caſtle of *Giſors*, which was built on the *French* ſide of the river *Epte*, the common boundary between both dominions. *

Bu

* Some years before, there had been a treaty concluded between *France* and *Normandy*: wherein, among other points, was agreed, That the frontier town, *Giſors*, ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of a baron called *Payen*, who was to receive into neither *Engliſh* nor *Norman*, nor *French* troops; but in caſe ſhould fall into the hands of either of the two kings, it was ſtipulated that the walls ſhould be razed within the ſpace of forty days. Notwithſtanding this, *Henry* had ſeized the place; and when called upon to ſequeſter it, or elſe to raze the walls, declined the doing either. Father *Daniel*.

But an incident ſoon offered, which gave King *Henry* a pretext for retaliating almoſt in the ſame manner: for it happened, that upon ſome offence taken againſt his nephew *Theobald* Count of *Blois* by the *French* King, *Louis* in great rage ſent an army to invade and ravage the Earl's territories. *Theobald* defended himſelf for a while with much valour; but at length, in danger to be over-powered, requeſted aid of his uncle the King of *England*, who ſupported him ſo effectually with men and money, that he was able not only to defend his own country, but very much to infeſt and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings. *Louis* now openly aſſerted the title of *William* the ſon of *Robert*; and entering into an alliance with the Earls of *Flanders* and *Anjou*, began to concert meaſures for driving King *Henry* out of *Normandy*.

The King having timely intelligence of his enemy's deſigns, began with great vigour and diſpatch to prepare himſelf for war: he raiſed, with much difficulty and diſcontent of his people, the greateſt tax that had ever been known in *England*; and paſſing over into *Normandy* with a mighty army, joined his nephew *Theobald*. The King of *France*, who had entertained hopes that he ſhould over-run the dutchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great ſecurity towards the frontiers of *Normandy*; but obſerving an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he ſuddenly ſtopt his march. The two armies faced one another for

ſome hours, neither ſide offering battle; the reſt of the day was ſpent in light ſkirmiſhes begun by the *French*, and repeated for ſome days following with various ſucceſs; but the remainder of the year paſſed without any conſiderable action.

1119. At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for *Louis*, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of *Normandy*, and after a ſhort ſiege took *Gué Nicaiſe* *; there the King met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obſtinacy on both ſides for nine hours. The *French* army was divided into two bodies, and the *Engliſh* into three; by which means, that part where the King fought in perſon, being attacked by a ſuperior number, began to give way; and *William Criſpin*, a *Norman* baron, ſingling out the king of *England*, (whoſe ſubject he had been, but baniſhed for treaſon) ſtruck him twice on the head with ſo much violence, that the blood guſhed out of his mouth. The King inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt ſuch furious blows, that he ſtruck down ſeveral of his enemies, and *Criſpin* among the reſt, who was taken priſoner at his horſe's feet. The ſoldiers, encouraged by the valour of their Prince, rallied and fell on with freſh vigour, and the victory ſeemed doubtful, when *William*, the ſon of King *Henry*, to whom his father had entruſted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with

* At that time reckoned an important fortreſs on the river *Epte*.

with this freſh reſerve upon the enemy, who was already very much haraſſed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the *French*, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral thouſand men; their King quitted the field, and withdrew to *Andeli*; but the King of *England* recovering *Gué Nicaiſe*, returned triumphant to *Rouen*.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the Earl of *Anjou* to King *Henry*, and the Earl of *Flanders* fell in the battle; by which the King of *France* was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the interceſſion of the former, a peace was ſoon after made between both crowns. *William* the King's ſon did homage to *Louis* for the dukedom of *Normandy*; and the other *William*, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretenſions and complaints.

It is here obſervable, that from this time, until *Wales* was ſubdued to the *Engliſh* crown, the eldeſt ſons of *England* were called Dukes of *Normandy*, as they are now Princes of *Wales*.

1120. The King having ſtaid ſome time in *Normandy*, for the ſettlement of his dutchy after the calamities and confuſions of a war, returned to *England*, to the very great ſatisfaction of his people and himſelf. He had enlarged his dominions by the conqueſt of *Normandy*; he had ſubdued all his competitors, and forced even the King of *France*, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace;

he was upon very good terms with the Pope, who had a great eſteem and friendſhip for his perſon, and made him larger conceſſions than was uſual from that ſee, and in thoſe ages. At home he was reſpected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was bleſſed with a ſon of much hopes, juſt growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empreſs; ſo that he ſeemed to poſſeſs as great a ſhare of happineſs as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumſtances, which are all ſubject to various accidents, and every ſingle accident is able to diſſolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this Prince, who by one domeſtick misfortune, not to be prevented or foreſeen, found all the pleaſure and content he propoſed to himſelf by his prudence, his induſtry, and his valour, wholly diſappointed and deſtroyed: for *William* the young prince having embarked at *Barfleur* ſome time after his father, the mariners, being all drunk, ſuffered the ſhip to run upon a rock, where it was daſhed to pieces: the Prince made a ſhift to get into the boat, and was making to the ſhore, until forced back by the cries of his ſiſter, whom he received into the boat; but ſo many others crouded in at the ſame time, that it was immediately overturned. There periſhed, beſide the Prince, a natural ſon and daughter of the King's, his niece, and many other perſons of quality, together with all their attendants and ſervants, to the number

number of a hundred and forty, beſides fifty mariners, but one perſon eſcaping.

Although the King ſurvived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and moroſe: however, in order to provide better for the peace and ſettlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loſs of his ſon, his former queen having died three years before, he married *Adelais*, a beautiful young lady of the family of *Lorrain*,* in hopes of iſſue by her, but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occaſion to ſome new troubles in *Normandy*; for the Earls of *Meulant* and *Evreux*, *Hugh de Montfort*, and other aſſociates, began to raiſe inſurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the *French* King, out of enmity to King *Henry*, and in favour of *William* the ſon of *Robert*, to whom the Earl of *Anjou* had lately given his daughter in marriage. But *William* of 1124. *Tankerville*, the King's lieutenant in *Normandy*, ſurpriſing the enemy's forces by an ambuſh, entirely routed them, took both the Earls priſoners, and ſent one of them *(Meulant)* to his maſter; but the Count *d'Evreux* made his eſcape.

1126. King *Henry*, having now loſt hope of iſſue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to *England*, his daughter *Maude*, who by the Emperor's death had been lately left a widow

* She was the daughter of *Godfry* Duke of *Louvain*, or the *Lower Lorrain*.

and childleſs; and in a parliament or general aſſembly, which he had ſummoned at *Windſor*, he cauſed the crown to be ſettled on her and her children, and made all his nobles take a ſolemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with ſo much forwardneſs as *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, who was obſerved to ſhew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the King's nephew, being ſecond ſon of the Earl of *Blois* by *Adèla* the conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the King his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heireſs of the Earl of *Boulogne*, given him great poſſeſſions in *England*, and made him indeed too powerful for a ſubject.

The King, having thus fixed the ſucceſſion of the crown in his daughter, by an act of ſettlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a ſecond huſband, and at length determined his choice in *Geoffry Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou*, the ſon of *Fulk* lately deceaſed.

This prince, whoſe dominions confined on *France* and *Normandy*, was uſually courted for an ally by both kings in their ſeveral quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never ſcrupled to change ſides as often as he ſaw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the *French*, he cloſed in with King *Henry*, and gave his daughter to the young Prince *William*; yet at the ſame time, by the private encouragement of *Louis*, he prevailed on the King of *England* to be eaſy in the conditions of a peace.

Upon

Upon the unfortunate loſs of the Prince, and the troubles in *Normandy* thereupon, he fell again from the King, gave his other daughter to *William* the ſon of *Robert*, and ſtruck up with *France* to take that Prince again into protection. But dying ſoon after, and leaving his ſon *Geoffry* to ſucceed in that earldom, the King was of opinion he could not any where beſtow his daughter with more advantage, both for the ſecurity and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this Earl; by which marriage *Anjou* would become an acquiſition to *Normandy*, and thus be a more equal match to ſo formidable a neighbour as *France*. In a ſhort time the marriage was concluded; and this earl *Geoffry* had the honour to introduce into the royal family of *England* the ſurname of *Plantagenet*, borne by ſo many ſucceeding kings, which began with *Henry* II. who was the eldeſt ſon of this marriage.

But the King of *France* was in great diſcontent at this match: he eaſily foreſaw the diſmal conſequences to himſelf and his ſucceſſors from ſuch an increaſe of dominion united to the crown of *England*: he knew what impreſſions might be made in future times to the ſhaking of his throne by an aſpiring and warlike king, if they ſhould happen in a weak reign, or upon any great diſcontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reaſonable (and ſince often verified by events) he caſt about to find ſome way of driving the King of *England* entirely out of *France*; but having neither pretext nor ſtomach in the midſt

midſt of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plauſible occaſion of purſuing his deſign.

Charles the Good, Earl of *Flanders*, having been lately murdered by ſome of his ſubjects, upon private revenge, the king of *France* went in perſon to take revenge of the aſſaſſins, which he performed with great juſtice and honour. But the late Earl leaving no heir of his body, and ſeveral competitors appearing to diſpute the ſucceſſion, *Louis* rejected ſome others who ſeemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to *William*, the ſon of *Robert*, the better to ſecure him to his intereſts, upon any deſign he might engage in againſt the king of *England*. Not content with this, he aſſiſted the earl in perſon, ſubdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable poſſeſſion of his new dominion.

King *Henry*, on the other ſide, was very apprehenſive of his nephew's greatneſs, well knowing to what end it was directed: however, he ſeemed not to regard it, contenting himſelf to give the earl employment at home, by privately nouriſhing the diſcontents of his new ſubjects, and abetting under-hand another pretender: for *William* had ſo entirely loſt the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in *Flanders* revolted from him, and invited *Thierrie* Earl of *Alſace* to be their governor. But the King of *France* generouſly reſolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into *Flanders* for that purpoſe. He had marched as far as *Artois*, when he was ſuddenly recalled

recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader: for *Henry* king of *England*, moved with indignation to ſee the *French* king, in the midſt of a peace, ſo frequently and openly ſupporting his moſt dangerous enemy, thought it the beſt way to divert *Louis* from kindling a fire againſt him abroad, by forcing him to extinguiſh one at home: he therefore entered into the bowels of *France*, ravaging and laying waſte all before him, and quickly grew ſo formidable, that the *French* king, to purchaſe a peace, was forced to promiſe never more to aſſiſt or favour the earl of *Flanders*: however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly needleſs; for the young earl ſoon after gave battle to *Thierrie*, and put his whole army to the rout: but purſuing his victory, he received a wound in his wriſt, which, by the unſkilfulneſs of a ſurgeon, coſt him his life.*

This one ſlight inconſiderable accident did, in all probability, put a ſtop to very great events; for if that young prince had ſurvived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the juſtneſs of his cauſe, the reputation of his valour, and the aſſiſtance of the king of *France*, he would in a little time have recovered *Normandy*, and perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two deſigns he had in agitation; nor could he well have miſſed the crown of *England* after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had ſo

* The lance paſſed through or under the ball of his thumb into his wriſt. The wound gangrening, he died within five days.

ſo fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from *Normandy*, a great council of the clergy was held at *London*, for the puniſhing of prieſts who lived in concubinage, † which was the great grievance of the Church.

† For celibacy was now placed among the firſt of eccleſiaſtic virtues. Not concubines only, but wives, were deemed a reproach to the ſacred order; and canons were made for inflicting equal puniſhments on clergymen who cohabited with either: nay, the wives of prieſts were denied to be wives, and degraded into the rank of concubines.

At ſome preceding councils in this reign, ſevere decrees paſſed to reſtrain eccleſiaſtics from matrimony, and to chaſtiſe thoſe, who, being married, ſhould neglect to repudiate their wives. If a *prieſt, deacon, ſubdeacon*, &c. ſhould ſuffer *any woman, except a mother, ſiſter, aunt, or perſon equally unſuſpected*, to dwell in the houſe with *him*, he was to be puniſhed with *loſs of benefice* and *loſs of his order*, and the concubinary, or ſuſpected female, to be *arreſted, diſciplined*, or reduced *to be a ſlave*. [*Council. Lond. anno* 1126. c. 13.——*Weſtmonaſt. anno* 1127. c. 5, 7.] Theſe were laws which the policy of *Rome* ſuggeſted, but which the king and lay-barons might not fully approve. They were laws that could not, however, be put generally in execution, conſidering the number and power of the married clergy at this time (to whoſe claim of the *honourable and undefiled bed* the laſt blow had not yet been given) without the aid and concurrence of the civil power: the king ſeemed ready to co-operate, and found his advantage in ſo doing. In the very beginning of his reign, he was remarkably active in enforcing the new canons againſt clerical incontinency, by levying fines on the tranſgreſſors, without waiting for their conviction in an eccleſiaſtical court, or rather in lieu of the penalties which ſuch court might inflict.

This was thought an invaſion of the ſpiritual power; and beſides, a motive of avarice was ſuppoſed to lurk under the zeal he pretended for the chaſtity of the Church. *Anſelm*, though lately

reſtored

Church in thoſe ages, and had been condemned by ſeveral canons. This aſſembly thinking to take a more effectual courſe againſt that abomination, as it was called, decreed ſevere penalties upon thoſe who ſhould be guilty of breaking it, entreating the king to ſee the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwiſe than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evaſion to his own advantage: for, exacting fines of the delinquent prieſts, he ſuffered them to keep their concubines without further diſturbance. A very unaccountable ſtep in ſo wiſe a body for their own concernments,

reſtored to royal favour, and to the poſſeſſion of the revenues of his ſee, could not brook ſuch proceedings: he diſpatched out of *Normandy* a chiding epiſtle to the king. A ſhort extract from it may ſhew the ſpirit of the man, and the ſtyle in which biſhops durſt admoniſh their ſovereigns. "Audio quòd veſtra excellen-"tia vindictam exercet ſuper preſbyteros Angliæ, & forisfacturam "exigit ab iis qui non ſervaverunt præceptum concilii, quod ego "cum veſtro favore tenui apud Lundoniam cum aliis epiſcopis, "*&c.* quòd hactenus inauditum & inuſitatum in eccleſiâ Dei de "tillo rege & de aliquo principe. Non enim pertinet—hujuſ-"modi culpam vindicare, niſi ad ſingulos epiſcopus—aut, ſi & "epiſcopi in hoc negligentes fuerint, ad archiepiſcopum & pri-"matem—precor igitur—& conſulo—ne vos contra eccleſiaſti-"cam conſuetudinem in tam grave peccatum miſtatis—dico enim "vobis, quòd valdè timere debetis, quòd pecunia taliter accepta "—non adjuvabit terrena negotia; ut taceam, quantum noceat "animæ, quantum poſtea perturbabit." The king, after ſuch an increpation, was cautious of interfering with eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Freſh ſynods threw out more invectives and fiercer menaces againſt the concubinage, under which term was included the marriage of clerks; but the evil was ſtill unremoved. Thus matters ſtood before the opening of the council of *London* in 1129, whoſe impolitic management is here cenſured by Dr. *Swift*.

ments, as the clergy of thoſe times is looked upon to have been: and although, perhaps, the fact be not worth recording, it may ſerve as a leſſon to all aſſemblies never to truſt the execution of a law into the hands of thoſe who will find it more to their intereſts to ſee it broken than obſerved.*

1132. The empreſs *Maude* was now happily delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards king of *England*, by the name of *Henry* the Second: and the king calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her iſſue, which in the compaſs of three years they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think

* The king might now, it ſeems, animadvert upon licentious and married prieſts, without fear of a primate's reprimand: the church itſelf had reſigned this branch of her diſcipline to him; but he was far from anſwering the warm expectations of the advocates for celibacy. Fines indeed he exacted from ſuch as treſpaſſed againſt the canons; this was a happy expedient for repleniſhing his coffers: but when thoſe fines had been paid by clerks under cenſure, he connived at their retaining *wives*, and indulged them the protection of the civil power. For we muſt not ſay with *Alfred* and other Jeſuits, that he connived at their keeping ſtrumpets, notwithſtanding that the term *focariæ*, uſed by *Mathew Paris*, may ſeem to favour ſuch reproach. *Uxores* is the appellation expreſsly given to thoſe ſpared and pitied domeſticks by *Henry Huntingdon*, *Hovedon*, the Annals of *Margan* and of *Waverly*, and the Chronicon of *Heningford*. [See *Collier*, *Eccl. Hiſt.* vol. i. p. 322.] If it was an overſight in the clergy to entruſt the king with the execution of their laws againſt concubinage, *Henry*, however, acted on this occaſion, the good politician, by diſpenſing with thoſe who could not bear a ſeparation from their wives. It was not his buſineſs to extinguiſh connubial love, or deſtroy family connexions in that order. A married clergy, he might reaſonably imagine, would never become ſlaves to *Rome*, nor conſpire with any pope to ſubvert the civil conſtitution.

1134. I think it may deſerve a place in this hiſtory, to mention the laſt ſcene of duke *Robert*'s life, who either through the poorneſs or greatneſs of ſpirit, having outlived the loſs of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eye-ſight, and his only ſon, was at laſt forced to ſink under the load of eighty years, and muſt be allowed for the greateſt example either of inſenſibility or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a ſovereign or private perſon. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courteſy; but his ruin began from the eaſineſs of his nature, which, whoever knew how to manage, were ſure to be refuſed nothing they could aſk. By ſuch profuſion he was reduced to thoſe unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a penſion, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his ſubjects; neither do I think any virtue ſo little commendable in a ſovereign, as that of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can ſupply; where it paſſes thoſe bounds, his ſubjects muſt all be oppreſſed to ſhew his bounty to a few flatterers, or he muſt ſell his towns, or baſely renounce his rights, by becoming penſioner to ſome powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which we have lived to ſee performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

1135. Since the reduction of *Normandy* to the king's obedience, he found it neceſſary for his affairs to ſpend in that dutchy ſome part of his

time almoſt every year; and a little before the death of *Robert*, he made his laſt voyage there. It was obſervable in this prince, that having ſome years paſt very narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck in his paſſage from *Normandy* into *England*, the ſenſe of his danger had made very deep impreſſions on his mind, which he diſcovered by a great reformation in his life, by redreſſing ſeveral grievances and doing many acts of piety; and, to ſhew the ſteadineſs of his reſolutions, he kept them to the laſt, making a progreſs through moſt parts of *Normandy*, treating his ſubjects in all places with great familiarity and kindneſs, granting their petitions, eaſing their taxes, and, in a word, giving all poſſible marks of a religious, wiſe, and gracious prince.

Returning to *St. Dennys le Forment* from his progreſs a little indiſpoſed, he there fell into a fever upon a ſurfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to *England*, and buried at *Reading* in the abbey-church himſelf had founded.

It is hard to affirm any thing peculiar of this prince's character; thoſe authors who have attempted it, mentioning very little but what was common to him with thouſands of other men: neither have they recorded any of thoſe perſonal circumſtances or paſſages, which only can diſcover ſuch qualities of the mind as moſt diſtinguiſh one man from another. Theſe defects may perhaps appear in the ſtories of many ſucceeding kings; which makes me hope I ſhall not be altogether

gether blamed for ſometimes diſappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wiſh to be the moſt exact.

As to his perſon, he is deſcribed to be of middle ſtature; his body ſtrong ſet and fleſhy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleaſant, eſpecially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, eſpecially that circumſtance of long artificial hair, which he forbade upon ſevere penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. Theſe were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and luſt: of which the firſt is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the ſecond by his treatment of Duke *Robert*; and the laſt was notorious. But the proof of his virtues doth not depend on ſingle inſtances, manifeſting themſelves through the whole courſe of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, juſtice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had paſſed thirty years, having learned, in his private life, to ſtruggle with hardſhips, whereof he had his ſhare, from the capriciouſneſs and injuſtice of both his brothers; and, by obſerving their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himſelf, being ſteady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both ſeemed chiefly to want. This likewiſe made him ſo very tenacious as he was obſerved to be in his

love and hatred. He was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, which he ſeems never to have violated, but in that particular caſe, which political caſuiſts are pleaſed to diſpenſe with, where the diſpute is about a crown. In that he * * * * * *.

Conſider him as a private man, he was perhaps the moſt accompliſhed perſon of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great ſhare of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the ſenſe he had of this laſt perfection in himſelf, that put him ſo often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of moſt figure as well as uſe.

* Here the ſentence breaks off ſhort, and is left unfiniſhed.

The

The REIGN of

STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are ſuppoſed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, muſt be upheld by a long uninterrupted ſucceſſion, otherwiſe it quickly loſes opinion, upon which the ſtrength of it, although not the juſtice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal deſcent, there is little ſecurity in a good title (though confirmed by promiſes and oaths) where the lawful heir is abſent, and a popular aſpiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may paſs for a maxim, if any conſequences drawn from hiſtory can pretend to be called ſo, having been verified ſucceſſively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whoſe reign we are now writing. Neither can this obſervation be juſtly controlled by any inſtances brought of future princes, who being abſent at their predeceſſor's death, have peaceably ſucceeded, the circumſtances being very different in every caſe, either by the weakneſs or juſtice of pretenders, or elſe by the long eſtabliſhment of lineal ſucceſſion.

1135. *Stephen* Earl of *Boulogne*, whoſe deſcent hath been already ſhewn in the foregoing reign, as the ſecond of three brothers, whereof the eldeſt

was *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, a ſovereign prince, and *Henry* the youngeſt was biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the pope's legate in *England*. At the time of King *Henry*'s death, his daughter the Empreſs was with her huſband the Earl of *Anjou*, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for ſudden enterprizes: but Earl *Stephen*, who had attended the King in his laſt expedition, made ſo great diſpatch for *England**, that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a ſucceſſor. When the Lords were aſſembled, the Legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's intereſts; and the Earl himſelf, knowing with what ſucceſs the like methods were uſed by his two laſt predeceſſors, was very liberal of his promiſes to amend the laws, ſupport the church, and redreſs grievances: for all which the biſhop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was *Stephen* elected by thoſe very perſons who had ſo lately, and in ſo ſolemn a manner, more than once ſworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was ſwayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual ſtruggle between them and their former kings, in the defence of their liberties; for the ſecurity whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would

* *Stephen* was at *Boulogne* when he received the news of *Henry*'s death. The lords preſent with the king at the time of his deceaſe, were the Earls of *Gloceſter*, *Surry*, and *Leiceſter*; the Counts of *Mortagne* and *Meulant*, and ſome governors of caſtles.

would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in conſtant dependence, would be leſs tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full ſecurity, by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he ſhould be true to thoſe ſtipulations.

But other reaſons were contrived and given out to ſatisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity, for ſo noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promiſed to marry his daughter within the realm, and by conſent of parliament, neither of which was obſerved: and laſtly, *Hugh Bigod*, ſteward to King *Henry*, took a voluntary oath, before the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that his maſter, in his laſt ſickneſs, had, upon ſome diſpleaſure, diſinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could beſt enable him to preſerve it: this was the poſſeſſion of his uncle's treaſures, amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious ſum in thoſe days; by the help of which, without ever raiſing one tax upon the people, he defended an unjuſt title againſt the lawful heir, during a perpetual conteſt of almoſt twenty years.

In order to defend himſelf againſt any ſudden invaſion, which he had cauſe enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build caſtles upon their lands, which proved a very miſtaken piece of politics,

litics, although grounded upon ſome appearance of reaſon. The king ſuppoſed, that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country, without reducing every caſtle in his way, which muſt be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and ſecure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undiſputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his ſubjects: but numerous caſtles are ill defenders of an uſurpation, being the common retreat of maſecontents, where they can fly with ſecurity, and diſcover their affections as they pleaſe: by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may ſtill preſerve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait ſupplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is maſter of any caſtles, can he ever be at mercy by any ſudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himſelf. Theſe, and many other effects of ſo pernicious a counſel, the king found through the whole courſe of his reign; which was entirely ſpent in ſieges, revolts, ſurprizes, and ſurrenders, with very few battles, but no deciſive action: a period of much miſery and confuſion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or uſeful for the inſtruction of poſterity.

1136. The firſt conſiderable enemy that appeared againſt him, was *David* king of *Scots*, who having taken the oath of fealty to *Maude* and her iſſue, being further engaged by the ties of blood, and

and ſtirred up through the perſuaſions of ſeveral *Engliſh* nobles, began to take up arms in her cauſe; and invading the northern parts, took *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*: but upon the king's ſpeedy approach with his forces, a peace was preſently made, and the towns reſtored. However, the *Scottiſh* prince would, by no means, renounce his fidelity to the Empreſs, by paying homage to *Stephen*; ſo that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldeſt ſon: in conſideration of which, the king gave, or rather reſtored, to him the earldom of *Huntington*.

Upon his return to *London* from this expedition, he happened to fall ſick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great induſtry and artifice, diſperſed by his enemies, which quickly diſcovered the ill inclination of ſeveral lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made uſe of it for an occaſion or pretext to fortify their caſtles, which they refuſed to ſurrender to the king himſelf; but *Stephen* was reſolved, as he ſaid, to convince them that he was alive, and well; for coming againſt them before he was expected, he recovered *Exeter*, *Norwich* *, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of ſo much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and ſtate, after a compliance with all conditions they could impoſe

on

* *Hugh Bigod* had ſeized *Norwich* caſtle.

on him, and in an age when ſo little regard was had to the lineal deſcent, laſtly confirmed by the pope himſelf, ſhould be ſoon deſerted and oppoſed by thoſe very perſons who had been the moſt inſtrumental to promote him. But, beſide his defective title, and the undiſtinguiſhed liberty of building caſtles, there were three circumſtances which very much contributed to thoſe perpetual revolts of the nobles againſt him: firſt, that upon his coming to the crown, he was very liberal in diſtributing lands and honours to ſeveral young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to ſtrengthen his party againſt the Empreſs: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too faſt upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to diſmiſs the reſt with promiſes and excuſes, who, either out of envy or diſcontent, or elſe to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the firſt occaſion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced ſeveral caſtles and towns which had given the firſt example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the leaſt puniſhment on the authors; which unſeaſonable mercy, that in another prince and another age would have been called greatneſs of ſpirit, paſſed in him for puſillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of thoſe times, to have been the cauſe of many ſucceeding revolts. The third circumſtance was of a different kind; for, obſerving how

ow little good effect he had found by his libe-ality and indulgence, he would needs try the o-her extreme, which was not his talent. He be-an to infringe the articles of his charter; to re-al or diſown the promiſes he had made; and to epulſe petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable, by being new and nexpected.

1137. Mean time the Earl of *Anjou*, who was not in a condition to aſſert his wife's title to *England*, hearing *Stephen* was employed at home, ntered *Normandy* with ſmall force, and found it no difficult matter to ſeize ſeveral towns. The *Normans*, in the preſent diſtraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at laſt ſent an invitation to *Theobald* Earl of *Blois*, King *Stephen*'s eldeſt brother, to accept their dukedom, upon the condition of protecting them from the preſent inſults of the Earl of *Anjou*. But before this matter could come to an iſſue, *Stephen*, who, upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a ſhort interval of quiet from his *Engliſh* ſubjects, arrived with unexpected ſpeed into *Normandy*; where *Geoffry* of *Anjou* ſoon fled before him, and the whole dutchy came over to his obedience; for the further ſettlement whereof, he made peace with the King of *France*; conſtituted his ſon *Euſtace* Duke of *Normandy*; and made him ſwear fealty to that prince, and do him homage. His brother *Theobald*, who began to expoſtulate upon this diſappointment, he paci-

fied

fied with a penſion of two thouſand marks *; and even the Earl of *Anjou* himſelf, who, in right of his wife, made demands of *Stephen* for the kingdom of *England*, finding he was no equal match at preſent, was perſuaded to become his penſioner for five thouſand more †.

Stephen, upon his return to *England*, met with an account of new troubles from the North; for the King of *Scots*, under pretence of obſerving his oath of fealty to the Empreſs, infeſted the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waſte all before him.

1138. In order to revenge this baſe and perfidious treatment, the King, in his march northward, ſat down before *Bedford*, and took it after a ſiege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of *Huntington*, given by *Stephen* in the late peace to the eldeſt ſon of the *Scottiſh* king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garriſon of *Scots*. Upon intelligence of this ſurrender, King *David*, overcome with fury, entered *Northumberland*, where, letting looſe the rage of his ſoldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in ſo execrable a manner, as would ſcarce be credible, if it were not atteſted

* The mark of *Normandy* is to be underſtood here. Such a penſion in that age was equivalent to one of 31,000 l. ſterling in the preſent.

† Five thouſand marks of ſilver coin was, in this reign, of the ſame value as the ſum of 77,500 l. modern currency, is now. Here again the *Normannic* mark ſeems to be uſed.

ed by almoſt the univerſal conſent of writers: they ript up women with child, drew out the infants, and toſſed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered prieſts before the altars; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their ſtead put on the heads of thoſe they had murdered; with many other inſtances of monſtrous barbarity, too foul to relate. But cruelty being uſually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince, upon the approach of King *Stephen*, fled into places of ſecurity. The King of *England*, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, deſtroying with fire and ſword all the ſouthern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impreſſions into the heart of *Scotland*, if he had not been ſuddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his abſence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert Earl of *Gloceſter*, natural ſon of the late king, came into *England* ſome time after the advancement of *Stephen* to the crown; and, yielding to the neceſſity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the ſame condition uſed by the other nobles, to be of force ſo long as the King ſhould keep his faith with him, and preſerve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the intereſts of the Empreſs his ſiſter, and moved by the perſuaſions of ſeveral religious men, he had, with great ſecrecy and application, ſo far practiſed upon the levity or diſcontents of ſeve-

ral lords, as to gain them to his party; for the King had, of late, very much alienated the nobles againſt him; firſt, by ſeizing ſeveral of their perſons, and diſpoſſeſſing them of their lands; and, ſecondly, by taking into his favour *William D'Ypres*, a *Flemiſh* commander, of noble birth, but baniſhed by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the King employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him Earl of *Kent*, to the great envy and diſpleaſure of his *Engliſh* ſubjects. The Earl of *Gloceſter*, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things neceſſary for an inſurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the King was engaged againſt the *Scots*, each of them ſhould ſecure what towns and caſtles they could, and openly declare for the Empreſs. Accordingly, Earl *Robert* ſuddenly fortified himſelf in *Briſtol*; the reſt followed his example; *Hereford*, *Shrewſbury*, *Ludlow*, *Dover* *, and many other places were ſeized by ſeveral lords; and the defection grew ſo formidable, that the King, to his great grief, was forced to leave his *Scottiſh* expedition unfiniſhed, and return with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuppreſs the rebellion begun by his ſubjects; having firſt left the care of the North to *Thurſtan*, archbiſhop

* *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* had been entruſted by *Stephen* with the cuſtody of *Dover* caſtle: but *Robert* lying now under heavy ſuſpicion, the King, reſolved to ſecure that important fortreſs by force, ſent *Matilda* his queen to lay ſiege to it; to whom, after ſome defence, *Walchelin*, the deputy-governor, ſurrendered it.

archbiſhop of *York*; with orders carefully to obſerve the motions of the *Scots*.

Whilſt the King was employed in the South, in reducing his diſcontented lords, and their caſtles, to his obedience, *David* preſuming upon the diſtance between them, re-entered *England* with more numerous forces, and greater deſigns, than before: for, without loſing more time than what was neceſſary to pillage and deſtroy the country as he marched, he reſolved to beſiege *York*, which, if he could force to ſurrender, would ſerve as a convenient frontier againſt the *Engliſh*. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he ſat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time, archbiſhop *Thurſtan*, having already ſummoned the nobles and gentry of the ſhire, and parts adjacent, had, by powerful perſuaſions, incited them to defend their country againſt a treacherous, bloody, and reſtleſs enemy: ſo that before the King of *Scotland* could make any progreſs in the ſiege, the whole power of the North was united againſt him, under the Earl of *Albemarle*, and ſeveral other nobles. Archbiſhop *Thurſtan*, happening to fall ſick, could not go in perſon to the army, but ſent the biſhop of *Durham* in his ſtead; by whoſe encouragements, the *Engliſh*, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the *Scots*, who, ſending out a party of horſe to ſecure the riſing ground, were immediately attacked by the *Engliſh*,

liſh, and, after a ſharp diſpute, entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle, the King of *Scots*, and his ſon *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, gave many proofs of great perſonal valour. This young prince fell with ſuch fierceneſs upon a body of the *Engliſh*, that he utterly broke and diſperſed them; and was purſuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the *Scottiſh* King, which being heard and believed on both ſides, the *Engliſh*, who had lately fled, rallied again, aſſaulting their enemies with new vigour. The *Scots*, on the other ſide, diſcouraged by the ſuppoſed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the King and his ſon uſed all endeavours to ſtop their flight, and made ſeveral brave ſtands againſt the enemy: but the greateſt part of their army being fled, and themſelves almoſt encompaſſed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their eſcape.

The loſs on the *Engliſh* ſide was inconſiderable; but of *Scots*, by general conſent of writers, ten thouſand were ſlain. And thus ended the war of the Standard, as it was uſually called by the authors of that age, becauſe the *Engliſh*, upon a certain engine, raiſed the maſt of a ſhip, on the top whereof, in a ſilver box, they put the conſecrated wafer, and faſtened the ſtandards of St. *Peter* and other ſaints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the preſence of God; and ſerved likewiſe for a mark

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where to reaſſemble when they ſhould happen to be diſperſed by any accident or misfortune.

1139. Mean time, the King was equally ſucceſsful againſt his rebellious lords at home, having taken moſt of their caſtles and ſtrong holds; and the Earl of *Gloceſter* himſelf, no longer able to make any reſiſtance, withdrew into *Normandy*, to concert new meaſures with the Empreſs his ſiſter. Thus the King had leiſure and opportunity for another expedition into *Scotland*, to purſue and improve his victory, where he met with no oppoſition: however, he was at length perſuaded, with much difficulty, to accept his own conditions of a peace; and *David* delivered up to him his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, as a hoſtage for performance of articles between them.

The King, in his return homeward, laid ſiege to *Ludlow* caſtle, which had not been reduced with the reſt: here Prince *Henry* of *Scotland*, boiling with youth and valour, and expoſing his perſon upon all occaſions, was lifted from his horſe by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoiſted up into the caſtle, if the King had not immediately flown to his aſſiſtance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he ſoon compelled to ſurrender the caſtle.

1140. *Stephen* having thus ſubdued his inveterate enemies the *Scots*, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little eaſe. But he was deſtined to the poſſeſſion of a crown with perpetual diſturbance; for he was

hardly returned from his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the Empreſs, accompanied by her brother the Earl of *Gloceſter*, was preparing to come for *England*, in order to diſpute her title to the kingdom. The King, who knew by experience, what a powerful party ſhe already had to eſpouſe her intereſts, very reaſonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when ſhe appeared in perſon to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building caſtles, which were now like to prove ſo many places of ſecurity for his enemies, and fortifications againſt himſelf; for he knew not whom to truſt, vehemently ſuſpecting his nobles ever ſince their laſt revolt. He therefore caſt about for ſome artifice to get into his hands as many of their caſtles as he could: in the ſtrength and magnificence of which kind of ſtructures, the biſhops had far outdone the reſt, and were, upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extremely jealous of the church's increaſing power, and glad upon all occaſions to ſee the prelates humbled. The King, therefore, having formed his project, reſolved to make trial where it would be leaſt invidious, and where he could foreſee leaſt danger in the conſequences. At a parliament or aſſembly of nobles at *Oxford*, it was contrived to raiſe a quarrel between the ſervants of ſome biſhops and thoſe of *Alan*, Count of *Dinan* in *Bretagne*, upon a contention of rooms

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in their inns. *Stephen* took hold of this advantage, ſent for the biſhops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their caſtles, adding threats of impriſonment if they dared to diſobey. Thoſe whom the King chiefly ſuſpected, or rather who had built the moſt and ſtrongeſt caſtles, were *Reger* biſhop of *Saliſbury*, with his nephew and natural ſon the biſhops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, whom the King, by many circumſtances of rigour, compelled to ſurrender, going himſelf in perſon to ſeize *Devizes* *, then eſteemed the nobleſt ſtructure of *Europe*, and built by the fore-mentioned biſhop *Roger*, whoſe treaſure, to the value of forty thouſand marks †, there likewiſe depoſited, fell, at the ſame time, into the King's hand, which in a few days broke the biſhop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digreſſion, to ſay ſomething of the fortunes of this prelate, who, from the loweſt beginnings, came to be, without diſpute, the greateſt churchman of any ſubject in his age. It happened that the late king *Henry*, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in *Normandy*, wanted a prieſt to ſay maſs before

* According to *Ordericus Vitalis*, this caſtle was defended by *Maude* of *Ramſbury*, the biſhop's concubine. *Epiſcopi pellex principalem munitionem ſervabat.*

† This prelate's treaſure is doubtleſs computed by the ſmaller or *Saxon* mark; the uſe of which ſtill prevailed in *England*, and even thus computed, it amounts to a vaſt ſum, equal to about 116,350l. of modern money.

before him and his train, when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his ſervice, and performed it with ſo much dexterity and ſpeed, that the ſoldiers, who attended the Prince, recommended him to their maſter, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men; but it ſeems he had other talents; for having gotten into the Prince's ſervice, he ſoon diſcovered great application and addreſs, much order and œconomy in the management of his maſter's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After *Henry*'s advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made biſhop of *Saliſbury*, chancellor of *England*, employed in all his moſt weighty affairs, and uſually left vicegerent of the realm, while the King was abſent in *Normandy*. He was among the firſt that ſwore fealty to *Maude* and her iſſue; and among the firſt that revolted from her to *Stephen*, offering ſuch reaſons in council for ſetting her aſide, as, by the credit and opinion of his wiſdom, were very prevalent. But the King, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the biſhop fell a ſacrifice in his old age to thoſe treaſures he had been ſo long heaping up for its ſupport. A juſt reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raiſed him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been ſo very inſtrumental to raiſe.

But *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet

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at *Winchester*, where the King, being ſummoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cauſe with much learning; and the archbiſhop of *Rouen*, coming to the council, declared his opinion, That although the canons did allow the biſhops to poſſeſs caſtles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the King. This opinion *Stephen* followed very ſteadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother uſed all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of biſhops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the King, in a very opportune juncture for the intereſts of *Maude*, who, about this time, landed at *Portſmouth* with her brother *Robert*, Earl of *Gloceſter*. The whole force ſhe brought over for this expedition conſiſted but of one hundred and forty-knights*; for ſhe truſted altogether in her cauſe and her friends. With this ſlender attendance ſhe went to *Arundel*, and was there received into the caſtle by the widow of the late king; while Earl *Robert*, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of *Gloceſter*, in order to raiſe forces for the Empreſs, where the townſmen turned out the king's garriſon as ſoon as they heard of his approach.

King *Stephen* was not ſurpriſed at the news of the Empreſs's arrival, being the thing he had always

* In theſe times none ſerved on horſeback but gentlemen or knights, in right of their fiefs, or their repreſentatives, called *Men at arms*; and each of theſe was attended by at leaſt two ſervants or retainers mounted and armed.

ways counted upon, and was long preparing ſelf againſt. He was glad to hear how ill ſhe provided, and reſolved to uſe the opportunit her brother's abſence; for, haſtening down t *rundel* with a ſufficient ſtrength, he laid ſie the caſtle, in hopes, by ſecuring her perſo put a ſpeedy end to the war.

But there wanted not ſome very near abou King, who, favouring the party of *Maude*, credit enough to prevail with him not to ve time and reputation againſt an impregnable treſs, but rather, by withdrawing his forces, p her to retire to ſome leſs fortified place, ſhe might more eaſily fall into his hands. advice the King took againſt his own opi the Empreſs fled out of *Arundel* by night; after frequent ſhifting her ſtages through ſ towns, which had already declared in her fa fixed herſelf at laſt at *Lincoln*; where, havi things provided neceſſary for her defence, ſ ſolved to continue, and expect either a g revolt of the *Engliſh* to her ſide, or the decil war between the King and her brother.

1141. But *Stephen*, who had purſued the preſs from place to place, hearing ſhe hac herſelf up in *Lincoln*, reſolved to give her ne and, to help on his deſign, it fell out, that th zens, in hatred to the Earl of *Cheſter*, who manded there for the Empreſs, ſent a private tation to the King, with promiſe to delive town and their governor into his hands. King came accordingly, and poſſeſſed himſ

the town; but *Maude* and the Earl made their eſcape a few days before: however, many great perſons of *Maude*'s party remained priſoners to the King, and among the reſt the Earl of *Cheſter*'s wife, who was daughter to the Earl of *Gloceſter*. Theſe two earls, reſolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near *Lincoln*, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the King, both ſides made ready to engage. The King having diſpoſed his cavalry on each wing, places himſelf at the head of his foot, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; thoſe whom king *Stephen* had baniſhed were placed in the middle, the Earl of *Cheſter* led the van, and the earl of *Gloceſter* commanded the rear. The battle was fought at firſt with equal advantage, and great obſtinacy on both ſides: at length the right wing of the King's horſe, preſſed by the earl of *Cheſter*, galloped away, not without ſuſpicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The King beheld their flight, and encouraging thoſe about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for ſome time bravely ſeconded by his foot, did great execution. At length, overpowered by numbers, his men began to diſperſe, and *Stephen* was left almoſt alone with his ſword in his hand, wherewith he oppoſed his perſon againſt a whole victorious army, nor durſt any be ſo hardy to approach him: the ſword breaking,

breaking, a citizen of *Lincoln* put into his hands a *Daniſh* battle-ax,* with which he ſtruck to the ground the earl of *Cheſter*, † who preſumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewiſe flying in pieces with the force of thoſe furious blows he dealt on all ſides, a bold knight of the Empreſs's party, named *William de Keynes*, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, I have got the King. Then the reſt ran in, and he was taken priſoner ‡.

The king, being thus ſecured, was preſented to the empreſs, then at *Gloceſter*, and by her orders conveyed to *Briſtol*, where he continued in ſtrict cuſtody nine months, although with honourable treatment for ſome time, until, either upon endeavouring to make his eſcape, or in malice to the *Londoners*, who had a great affection for their king, he was, by expreſs command from the empreſs, laid in irons, and uſed with other circumſtances of ſeverity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almoſt the whole kingdom; and the earl of *Anjou*, huſband to the empreſs, upon the fame of the king's defeat and impriſonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole dutchy of *Normandy* to his obedience.

The legate himſelf, although brother to king *Stephen*, received her at *Wincheſter* with great ſolemnity,

* *Sim. Dunelmenſis.*

† The earl of *Cheſter* lived nevertheleſs to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poiſon.

‡ *Gervas.*

lemnity, accepted her oath for governing with juſtice, redreſſing grievances, and ſupporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her: then, in an aſſembly of biſhops and clergy, convoked for the purpoſe, he diſplayed the miſcarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empreſs to be queen; to which they unanimouſly agreed. To complete all, he prevailed, by his credit with the *Londoners*, who ſtood out the laſt of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where ſhe arrived at length in great pomp, and with general ſatisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princeſs to poſſeſs many weakneſſes that are charged to the ſex, and very few of its commendable qualities. She was now in peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, except the county of *Kent*, where *William D'Ypres* pretended to keep up a ſmall party for the king; when, by her pride, wilfulneſs, indiſcretion, and a diſobliging behaviour, ſhe ſoon turned the hearts of all men againſt her, and in a ſhort time loſt the fruits of that victory and ſucceſs which had been ſo hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The firſt occaſion ſhe took to diſcover the perverſeneſs of her nature, was in the treatment of *Maude*, the wife of king *Stephen*, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her ſex, who, coming to the empreſs an humble ſuitor in behalf of her huſband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he ſhould reſign all pretenſions to the crown, and paſs the reſt of his life in exile, or in a convent: but this re-

queſt was rejected with ſcorn and reproaches: and the queen finding all entreaties to no purpoſe, writ to her ſon *Euſtace* to let him underſtand the ill ſucceſs of her negociation; that no relief was to be otherwiſe hoped for than by arms; and therefore adviſed him to raiſe immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miſcarriage was towards the *Londoners*, who preſented her a petition for redreſſing certain rigorous laws of her father, and reſtoring thoſe of *Edward the Confeſſor*. The empreſs put them off for a time with excuſes, but at laſt diſcovered ſome diſpleaſure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been perſuaded to receive her againſt their inclinations, which ſtood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreaſonable refuſal of their juſt demands, and entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize her perſon. But ſhe had timely notice of their deſign, and, leaving the city by night in diſguiſe, fled to *Oxford*.

A third falſe ſtep the empreſs made, * was in refuſing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he deſired in behalf of *Euſtace*, the king's ſon, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promiſes to this prelate, that ſhe would be directed in all things by his advice; and to be refuſed, upon his firſt application, a ſmall favour for his own nephew, ſtung him to the quick: however, he governed his reſentments a while, but began

* *William of Malmeſbury.*

began at the ſame time to reſume his affection for his brother. Theſe thoughts were cultivated with great addreſs by queen *Maude*, who prevailed at laſt ſo far upon the legate, that private meaſures were agreed between them for reſtoring *Stephen* to his liberty and crown. The biſhop took leave of the empreſs, upon ſome plauſible pretence, and retired to *Wincheſter*, where he gave directions for ſupplying with men and proviſions ſeveral ſtrong caſtles he had built in his dioceſe, while the queen with her ſon *Euſtace* prevailed with the *Londoners* and men of *Kent* to riſe in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*.

In the mean time, the empreſs began to be ſenſible of the errors ſhe had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendſhip of the legate, or take him priſoner, marched with her army to *Wincheſter*, where being received and lodged in the caſtle, ſhe went immediately for the legate, ſpoke much in excuſe of what was paſt, and uſed all endeavours to regain him to her intereſts. Biſhop *Henry*, on the other ſide, amuſed her with dubious anſwers, and kept her in ſuſpenſe for ſome days; but ſent privately, at the ſame time, to the king's army, deſiring them to advance with all poſſible ſpeed; which was executed with ſo much diligence, that the empreſs and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were purſued by the enemy ſo cloſe in the rear,

that the empreſs had hardly time, by counterfeiting herſelf dead, to make her eſcape; in which poſture ſhe was carried as a corpſe to *Gloceſter*: but the Earl her brother, while he made what oppoſition he could, with deſign to ſtop her purſuers, was himſelf taken priſoner, with great ſlaughter of his men. After the battle, the earl was in his turn preſented to queen *Maude*, and by her command ſent to *Rocheſter* to be treated in the ſame manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune ſeemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it uſually happens, private animoſities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miſerable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our *Engliſh* ſtory give melancholy deſcriptions, not to be repeated in this hiſtory; ſince the uſual effects of civil war are obvious to conceive, and tireſome as well as uſeleſs to relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empreſs was grounded upon a cauſe, that in its own nature little concerned the intereſts of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for tranſacting a peace, to which there appeared an univerſal diſpoſition. Several expedients were propoſed; but earl *Robert* would conſent upon no other terms than the depoſing of *Stephen*, and immediate delivery of the crown to his ſiſter. Theſe debates laſted for ſome months, until the two priſoners, weary of

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their long conſtraint, by mutual conſent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aſide.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, haſtened to *London*, to get ſupplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of *Wincheſter* had, in a council of biſhops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empreſs, and perſuaded the aſſembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuſe for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced ſeveral inſtances wherein ſhe had broken the oath ſhe took when he had received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; and ſaid he had received information that ſhe had a deſign upon his life.*

It muſt be confeſſed that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the ſubject to any reaſonable degree of obedience; and the warmeſt advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from thoſe examples here produced, that it is very poſſible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter, that a monarch may be too much limited, and a ſubject too little; whereof the conſequences have been fully as pernicious for the time, as the worſt that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its height, although not perhaps ſo laſting or ſo hard to be remedied; ſince all the miſeries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifeſtly owing to that continual violation of ſuch

* *William of Malmeſbury.*

oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpoſe by ambitious men to be broken at pleaſure, without the leaſt apprehenſion of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual ſlaviſh dependence.

The earl of *Gloceſter*, ſoon after his releaſe, went over into *Normandy*, where he found the earl of *Anjou* employed in completing the conqueſt of that dutchy; there he delivered him the ſons of ſeveral *Engliſh* noblemen, to be kept as hoſtages for their fathers fidelity to the empreſs, and uſed many arguments for perſuading him to come over in perſon with an army to her aſſiſtance: but *Geoffry* excuſed himſelf by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of expoſing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his abſence. However, he lent the earl of *Gloceſter* a ſupply of four hundred men, and ſent along with him his eldeſt ſon *Henry*, to comfort his mother, and be ſhewn to the people.

During the ſhort abſence of the earl of *Gloceſter*, the empreſs was cloſely beſieged in *Oxford* by the king; and, proviſions beginning to fail, ſhe was in cruel apprehenſions of falling into his hands. This gave her occaſion to put in practice the only talent wherein ſhe ſeemed to excel, which was that of contriving ſome little ſhift or expedient to ſecure her perſon upon any ſudden emergency. A long ſeaſon of froſt had made the *Thames* paſſable upon the ice, and much ſnow lay on the ground: *Maude* with ſome few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being diſcovered from the king's camp, croſſed

croſſed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got ſafe to *Wallingford* caſtle, where her brother and young ſon *Henry*, newly returned from *France*, arrived ſoon after, to her great ſatisfaction: but *Oxford*, immediately upon the news of her flight, ſurrendered to the king.

However, this diſgrace was fully compenſated ſoon after by another of the ſame kind, which happened to king *Stephen*; for whilſt he and his brother of *Wincheſter* were fortifying a nunnery at *Wilton*, to bridle his enemies at *Saliſbury*, who very much haraſſed thoſe parts by their frequent excurſions, the earl of *Gloceſter*, who watched all opportunities, came unawares with a ſtrong body of men, and ſet fire on the nunnery while the king himſelf was in it. *Stephen*, upon the ſudden ſurprize of the thing, wholly loſt or forgot his uſual courage, and fled ſhamefully away, leaving his ſoldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the reſt of the war, although it laſted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer: whether the parties being pretty equal, and both ſufficiently tired with ſo long a contention, wanted vigour and ſpirit to make a thorough conqueſt, and only endeavoured to keep what they had; or whether the multitude of ſtrong caſtles, whoſe number daily increaſed, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almoſt in balance; let the cauſe be what it will, the whole time paſſed in mutual ſieges, ſurprizes, revolts, ſurrenders of fortified places, without any deciſive action, or other

other event of importance to be related; by which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of ſpoil, robbery, and plunder: many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their caſtles for the king or the empreſs, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual ſtate of war againſt their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were baniſhed, no veneration left for ſacred perſons or things; in ſhort, no law, truth, or religion among men, but a ſcene of univerſal miſery, attended with all the conſequences of an embroiled and diſtracted ſtate.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign, young *Henry*, now growing towards a man, was ſent for to *France* by a meſſage from his father, who was deſirous to ſee him; but left a conſiderable party in *England*, to adhere to his intereſts; and in a ſhort time after (as ſome write *) the empreſs herſelf, grown weary of contending any longer in a cauſe where ſhe had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewiſe, and retired to her huſband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befel *Stephen*; for, before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was *Robert* earl of *Gloceſter*, than whom there have been few private perſons known in the world that deſerve a fairer place and character in the regiſters of time, for his inviolable faith, diſintereſted friendſhip, indefatigable zeal, and

* *Gervas.*

and firm conſtancy to the cauſe he eſpouſed, and unparalleled generoſity in the conduct thereof. He adhered to his ſiſter in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own: he placed a crown on her head; and when ſhe had loſt it by her ſolly and perverſeneſs, refuſed the greateſt offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and choſe to continue a priſoner, rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretenſions: he bore up her ſinking title in ſpite of her own frequent miſcarriages, and at laſt died in her cauſe by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her ſervice. An example fit to be ſhewn the world, although few perhaps are like to follow it; but however, a ſmall tribute of praiſe, juſtly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the abſence of the empreſs and her ſon in *France*, added very little to the quiet or ſecurity of the king. For the earl of *Gloceſter*, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great ſagacity, delivered their ſons to the earl of *Anjou*, to be kept as pledges for their fathers fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was ſtill kept up againſt *Stephen*, too ſtrong to be ſuddenly broken. Beſides, he had, by an unuſual ſtrain of his conduct, lately loſt much good will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the perſon of the earl of *Cheſter*, a principal adherent of the empreſs. This nobleman, of great power and poſſeſſions, had newly reconciled himſelf to

Stephen,

Stephen, and came to his court at *Northampton*, where, againſt all laws of hoſpitality, as well as common faith and juſtice, he was committed to priſon, and forced to buy his liberty with the ſurrender of *Lincoln*, and all his other places, into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent poſture about two years, the nobles neither truſting the king nor each other. The number of caſtles ſtill increaſed, which every man who had any poſſeſſions was forced to build, or elſe be-
1149. come a prey to his powerful neighbours.

This was thought a convenient juncture, by the empreſs and her friends, for ſending young prince *Henry* to try his fortune in *England*, where he landed at the head of a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, although he was then but ſixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to *Carliſle*, where he met his couſin *David* king of *Scots*, by whom he was made knight, after the uſual cuſtom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The king of *England*, who had ſoon intelligence of *Henry*'s landing and motion, marched down to ſecure *York*, againſt which he expected the firſt attempt of his enemy was deſigned. But whatever the cauſe might be (wherein the writers of thoſe ages are either ſilent or unſatisfactory) both armies remained at that ſecure diſtance for three months; after which *Henry* returned back to *Normandy*,
1150. leaving the kingdom in the ſtate of confuſion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince *Henry Fitz-empreſs*,

empreſs now began to advance by great and ſudden ſteps, whereof it will be no digreſſion to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as becauſe they concern the immediate ſucceſſor to the crown.

1151. Prince *Henry*'s voyage to *France* was ſoon followed by the death of his father *Geoffry* earl of *Anjou*, whereby the ſon became poſſeſſed of that earldom, together with the dutchy of *Normandy*; but in a ſhort time after, 1152. he very much enlarged his dominions by a marriage, in which he conſulted his reputation leſs than his advantage. For *Louis the Young*, king of *France*, was lately divorced from his wife *Eleanor*, who, as the *French* writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her huſband, and had long deſired ſuch a ſeparation. Other authors give her not ſo fair a character: but whatever might be the real cauſe, the pretext was conſanguinity in the fourth degree *. *Henry* was content

* Whether the pretext were affinity, or conſanguinity, is not quite agreed among hiſtorians: but it ſeems clear, that the real cauſe of the ſeparation was the jealouſy of the king, and his impatience under the ſcandal of her amours. The proceedings of a council ſummoned at *Beaugenci*, in the year 1151, for the purpoſe of this divorce, are related by M. *Bayle*, who is never more prolix than when he meets with ladies like *Eleanor*, renowned for beauty, learning, and gallantry. He gives us the harangue of the biſhop of *Langres* in that aſſembly; who took the liberty of inveighing bitterly againſt the lewdneſs of the queen. The archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, a more decent man, was for huſhing that charge, and propoſed another more honourable motive for ſeparation, by ſhewing that the king and queen were *related* in a degree

content to accept this lady with all her f and in her right † became duke of *Aquitain* earl of *Poitou*, very conſiderable provinces, to his other dominions.

But the two kings of *France* and *Engla* gan to apprehend much danger from the f greatneſs of a young ambitious prince; and intereſts were jointly concerned to chec growth. Duke *Henry* was now ready to f *England*, in a condition to aſſert his title more equal terms; when the king of *Fran* conjunction with *Euſtace*, king *Stephen*'s ſon *Geoffry*, the duke's own brother, ſuddenly ed into his dominions with a mighty army; the caſtle of *Neumarchè* by ſtorm, and ſiege to that of *Angers*. The Duke, by th cident, was forced to lay aſide his thoug *England*, and marching boldly towards the my, reſolved to relieve the beſieged; but fi they had already taken the caſtle, he thou

degree wherein marriage is unlawful. This hint was take proceedings changed; and on this ground a marriage, w fourteen years had been unqueſtioned, was now pro void. The queen, being told what turn things had taken, ed, fell from her chair, continued above two hours ſpe at length coming to herſelf, and turning her bright and b on the company preſent, ſhe ſaid, *&c. Vid. Bayle*'s Dict. *Louis* VII.

† This *Eleanor* was daughter and heireſs of *William* duke of *Aquitain* and earl of *Poitou*. She made after great figure in *England*; raiſed rebellion againſt the k huſband; ſuffered long impriſonment; but ſurvived her t her huſband, and her oldeſt ſon [*Richard* I.] dying in 1203.

beſt to make a diverſion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, where he left all to the mercy of his ſoldiers, ſurprized and burnt ſeveral caſtles, and made great devaſtations wherever he came. This proceeding anſwered the end for which it was deſigned; the king of *France* thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of ſome religious men, were ſoon agreed. The duke, after ſome time ſpent in ſettling his affairs, and preparing all things neceſſary for his intended expedition, ſet ſail for *England*, where he landed * the ſame year in the depth of the winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thouſand foot.

Some time before *Henry* landed, the king had conceived a project to diſappoint his deſigns, by confirming the crown upon himſelf and his own poſterity. † He ſent for the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with ſeveral other prelates, and propoſed that his ſon *Euſtace* ſhould be crowned king with all the uſual ſolemnity: but the biſhops abſolutely refuſed to perform the office, by expreſs orders from the pope, who was an enemy to *Stephen*, partly upon account of his unjuſt or declining cauſe, but chiefly for his ſtrict alliance with the

* The place where he landed is not mentioned by our hiſtorians. It was probably in the weſt of *England*, as the firſt garriſon town he attacked was *Malmeſbury*.

† *Gervas*, *Hen. Huntingdon*.

king of *France*, who was then engaged in a quarrel againſt that ſee, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his ſon were both enraged at the biſhops refuſal, and kept them priſoners in the chamber where they aſſembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and ſome other circumſtances of rigour; but all to no purpoſe, ſo that he was at length forced to deſiſt. But the archbiſhop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the ſon during the life and reign of the father, which appears ſo abſurd in ſpeculation, was actually performed in the ſucceeding reign, and ſeems to have been taken up by thoſe two princes of *French* birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country *, where it was uſual for kings grown old and infirm, or ſwayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldeſt ſon into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, with the title of King; a cuſtom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of *Rome*, who adopted their *Cæſars* after the like manner.

1153. The king was employed in his uſual exerciſe of beſieging caſtles when the news was brought of *Henry*'s arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly againſt the duke, who was then ſat down before *Malmeſbury*. But *Stephen* forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although

* *Mezera.*

though his army was much increaſed by continual revolts, thought it beſt to gain time, being ſtill in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himſelf ſtrongly entrenched. There is ſome difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a ſhort time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both ſides, either dreading the conſequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for ſome days in order to a peace; which was violently oppoſed by *Euſtace*, the king's ſon, a youth of great ſpirit and courage, becauſe he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his intereſts; and therefore, finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and, attended by ſome followers, endeavoured to ſatiate his fury, by deſtroying the country in his march: but in a few days, as he ſat at dinner in a caſtle of his own, he fell ſuddenly dead, either through grief, madneſs, or poiſon.

The truce was now expired, and the duke began to renew the war with freſh vigour; but the king was wholly diſpirited upon this fatal accident, and now firſt began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had loſt a ſon whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewiſe loſt the alliance of the *French* king, to whoſe ſiſter the young prince was married. He had indeed another ſon left, but little eſteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded

by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forſaken by his friends, who, ſince the death of *Euſtace*, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his poſterity, he thought it high time to ſeek repoſe for his perſon. The nobles ſoon obſerved this diſpoſition in their king, which was ſo agreeable to their own; therefore, by general conſent, *Theobald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were ſoon agreed; an aſſembly of lords was convened at *Wincheſter*, where the king received the duke with great marks of courteſy and kindneſs. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expreſſed the terms of agreement. But I ſhall relate only the principal.

The king, by this charter, acknowledged *Henry* for lawful ſucceſſor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and *Henry* himſelf, with his party, paid homage to *Stephen*. There is likewiſe a reſervation for *William*, the king's ſon, of all the honours poſſeſſed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewiſe acknowledges the obedience of his ſubjects to be no longer due to him than he ſhall obſerve the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of theſe articles, the archbiſhops and biſhops were appointed guarantees. There were ſome other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a reſtitution, to the right owners, of thoſe lands and poſſeſſions, which had been uſurped in

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the time of the troubles; that all caſtles built during the war ſhould be razed to the ground, which are ſaid to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the church ſhould be preſerved; with other matters of leſs moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbiſhop *Theobald*, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the univerſal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troubleſome war: men began to have the proſpect of a long peace; nor was it eaſy to foreſee what could poſſibly ariſe to diſturb it; when diſcovery was made by accident, of a moſt horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with ſucceſs, would have once more ſet the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to *London*, to be ſhewn to the people as the undoubted ſucceſſor to the crown; and having made a progreſs together through ſome other parts of the kingdom, they came to *Canterbury*; where *Henry* received private notice of a deſign upon his life. It hath been already obſerved, that the king employed in his wars a body of *Flemings*, to the great diſcontent of his own ſubjects, with whom they were ungracious. Theſe foreigners were much diſcontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become uſeleſs and burthenſome to the preſent king, and hateful to the ſucceſſor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practiſe upon the levity and ambition of *William* the king's ſon. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his

birth-right; offered to ſupport his title by their valour, as they had done that of his father; and, as an earneſt of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment, by diſpatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was eaſily wrought upon to be at the head of this conſpiracy; time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, *William* broke his leg by a fall from his horſe; and the conſpirators, wanting their leader, immediately diſperſed. This diſappointment and delay, as it uſually happens among conſpirators, were ſoon followed by a diſcovery of the whole plot, whereof the duke, with great diſcretion, made no other uſe than to conſult his own ſafety; therefore, without any ſhew of ſuſpicion or diſpleaſure, he took leave of the king, and returned to *Normandy*.

1154. *Stephen* lived not above a year to ſhare the happineſs of this peace with his people, in which time he made a progreſs through moſt parts of the kingdom, where he gained univerſal love and veneration, by a moſt affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return he went to *Dover*, to have an interview with the earl of *Flanders* *; where, after a ſhort ſickneſs, he died of the *Iliac* paſſion, together with his old diſtemper the hæmorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of *October*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign. He

* The earl of *Flanders* was a potent ſovereign on the continent, and had landed at *Dover*, in order to meet and confer with the king.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his perſon tall and graceful, of great ſtrength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of moſt virtues that can be uſeful in a king towards the happineſs of his ſubjects or himſelf; courteſy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; eſpecially the laſt, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly conſiſting with prudence, or his own ſafety. If we except his uſurpation of the crown, he muſt be allowed a prince of great juſtice, which moſt writers affirm to have been always unblemiſhed, except in that ſingle inſtance: for, as to his treatment of the biſhops and the earl of *Cheſter*, it ſeems very excuſable by the neceſſity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not uſed that proceeding with the latter, it would have coſt him his crown. Perhaps his injuſtice to the empreſs might likewiſe admit a little extenuation. Four kings ſucceſſively had ſat on the throne without any regard to lineal deſcent; a period beyond the memory of moſt men then alive; whereby the people had loſt much of that devotion they were uſed to bear towards an eſtabliſhed ſucceſſion: beſides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reaſon diſliked by all who profeſſed to hate innovations.

But the wiſdom of this prince was by no means equal to the reſt of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predeceſſor, being elected by the general conſent of the nobles, through

through the credit of his brother, and his own perſonal merit. He had no diſturbance for ſome time, which he might eaſily have employed in ſettling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treaſure enough to raiſe and pay armies, without burthening the ſubject. His competitor was a woman, whoſe ſex was the leaſt of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a conſiderable penſion: yet with all theſe advantages, he ſeldom was maſter of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual ſtruggling, and with frequent danger of loſing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifeſt conſequences of ſeveral moſt imprudent ſteps in his conduct, whereof many inſtances have been produced in the hiſtory of his reign; ſuch as, the unlimited permiſſion of building caſtles; his raiſing the ſiege of a weak place where the empreſs was ſhut up, and muſt, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the *Flemings* in his wars, and favouring them above his own ſubjects; and laſtly, that abortive project of crowning his ſon, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by diſcovering an inclination to violence and injuſtice that he durſt not purſue: whereas, it was nothing elſe but an effect of that haſty and ſudden diſpoſition uſually aſcribed to thoſe of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for authors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning

of

of an enterprize, but to ſlacken and grow cold in the proſecution.

He had a juſt ſenſe of religion, and was frequent in attending the ſervice of the church, yet reported to be no great friend to the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm, in that and ſome ſucceeding reigns, and by no means perſonal to this prince, who deſerved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general aſſemblies, further than that the commons do not ſeem to have been repreſented in any of them; for which I can aſſign no other reaſon than the will of the king, or the diſturbance of the time *. I obſerve the word *Parliament* is uſed promiſcuouſly among authors for a general aſſembly of nobles, and for a council of biſhops, or ſynod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to aſcertain any thing about it.

As for affairs of the church, that deſerve particular mention, I have not met with any; unleſs it ſhould be worth relating, that *Henry* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the pope's legate, who held frequent ſynods during this reign, was the firſt introducer of appeals to *Rome*, in this kingdom, for which he is blamed by all the monkiſh hiſtorians who give us the account.

THE

* The riſe and hiſtory of Parliaments had not been cleared up when the Doctor writ in the beginning of this current century. It is certain, that the Commons had as yet been never repreſented.

THE REIGN OF HENRY the SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

1154. THE ſpirit of war and contention, which had for a long time poſſeſſed the nation, became ſo effectually laid during the laſt year of king *Stephen*'s reign, that no alteration or diſturbance enſued upon his death, although the new king, * after he had received intelligence of it, was detained ſix weeks † by contrary winds: beſides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues, had already begotten ſo great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at *Hoſtreham* ‡, about the beginning of *December*, was received at *Wincheſter* by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and ſwear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at *Weſtminſter*, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For

* *Henry* was at that time beſieging a caſtle on the frontiers of *Normandy*.

† Five weeks at the moſt; a month, ſaith *Brompton*.

‡ At *Hoſtreham*, ſaith *Gervas*. The place is not eaſy to be found; however, it muſt be on the *Suſſex* or *Hampſhire* coaſt, becauſe the king went directly from the place of his landing to *Wincheſter*. *Carte* ſays he landed, *Dec.* 8. near *Harſt* caſtle in the *Foreſt*.

For the further ſettling of the kingdom, after the long diſtractions in the preceding reign, he ſeized on all the caſtles which remained undeſtroyed ſince the laſt peace between him and king *Stephen*; whereof ſome he demoliſhed, and truſted others to the government of perſons in whom he could confide.

But that which moſt contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, was a proclamation publiſhed, commanding all foreigners to leave *England*, enforced with a moſt effectual clauſe, whereby a day was fixed, after which it ſhould be capital for any of them to appear; among theſe was *William D'Ypres* earl of *Kent*, whoſe poſſeſſions the king ſeized into his own hands.

Theſe foreigners, generally called *Flemings* by the writers of the *Engliſh* ſtory, were a ſort of vagabond ſoldiers of fortune, who in thoſe ages, under ſeveral denominations, infeſted other parts of *Europe* as well as *England*: they were a mixt people, natives of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Biſcay*, *Brabant*, and other parts of *Spain* and *Flanders*. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them, but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and ſpoil. Nor was it an eaſy matter to get rid of them, when there was no further need of their ſervice. In *England* they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whoſe continual enemies they had been.

After the expulſion of theſe foreigners, and the forcing

forcing a few refractory lords to a ſurrender of their caſtles, king *Henry*, like a wiſe prince, began to conſider that a time of ſettled peace was the fitteſt juncture to recover the rights of the crown, which had been loſt by the war. He therefore reſumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predeceſſor; alledging that they were unalienable in themſelves, and beſides, that the grants were void, as coming from an uſurper. Whether ſuch proceedings are agreeable with juſtice, I ſhall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better conſult his own ſafety, than by diſabling thoſe whom he renders diſcontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their poſſeſſions.

1156. While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother *Geoffry*, was endeavouring by force to poſſeſs himſelf of the earldom of *Anjou*, to which he had fair pretenſions; for their father, conſidering what vaſt dominions would fall to his eldeſt ſon, bequeathed that earldom to the ſecond in his laſt ſickneſs, and commanded his nobles then about him, to take an oath that they would not ſuffer his body to be buried until *Henry* (who was then abſent) ſhould ſwear to obſerve his will. The duke of *Normandy*, when he came to aſſiſt at his father's obſequies, and found that without his compliance he muſt draw upon himſelf the ſcandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for obſervance of his will, though very much againſt

gainſt his own. But after he was in poſſeſſion of *England*, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to obſerve what he had ſworn, he prevailed with pope *Adrian* (of *Engliſh* birth) to diſpenſe with his oath; and in the ſecond year of his reign went over into *Normandy*, drove his brother entirely out of *Anjou*, and forced him to accept a penſion for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the reſentment of this unnatural dealing, in a ſhort time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the king of *Scots*, whom, upon a ſlight pretence, he took occaſion to diſpoſſeſs of *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle*, and other places granted by the empreſs to that prince's father, for his ſervices and aſſiſtance in her quarrel againſt *Stephen*.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquiſitions. *Ireland* was, in that age, a country little known in the world. The legates ſent ſometimes thither from the court of *Rome*, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other Church affairs, repreſented the inhabitants as a ſavage people, overrun with barbariſm and ſuperſtition: for indeed, no nation of *Europe*, where the Chriſtian religion received ſo early and univerſal admittance, was ever ſo late or ſlow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility *. Inſtead of refining

* The *Iriſh* had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for ſeveral centuries before the reign of *Henry* II. Vid. *Bede*.

their manners by their faith, they had ſuffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almoſt defaced, both in doctrine and diſcipline, after a long courſe of time, among a people wholly ſunk in ignorance and barbarity. There ſeem to have been two reaſons why the inhabitants of that iſland continued ſo long uncultivated; firſt, their ſubjection or vaſſalage to ſo many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, beſides thoſe four or five uſually aſſigned to the ſeveral provinces. Theſe princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or luſt, or treachery, or injuſtice, which kept them all in a continual ſtate of war. And indeed, there is hardly any country, how renowned ſoever in ancient or modern ſtory, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this ſtate of confuſion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conqueſt become ſubject to a foreign adminiſtration.

The other reaſon why civility made ſuch late entrances into that iſland, may be imputed to its natural ſituation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conqueſt than any other part of the known world. All the intercourſe the inhabitants had, was only with the weſtern coaſts of *Wales* and *Scotland*, from whence, at leaſt in thoſe ages, they were not like to learn very much politeneſs.

1155. The king, about the ſecond year of his reign, ſent ambaſſadors to pope *Adrian*, with injunctions

junctions to deſire his licence for reducing the ſavage people of *Ireland* from their brutiſh way of living, and ſubjecting them to the crown of *England*. The king proceeded thus, in order to ſet up a title to the iſland, wherein the pope himſelf pretended to be lord of the ſee; for in his letter, which is an anſwer and grant to the king's requeſts, he inſiſts upon it, that all iſlands, upon their admitting the Chriſtian faith, become ſubject to the ſee of *Rome*: and the *Iriſh* themſelves avowed the ſame thing to ſome of the firſt conquerors. In that fore-mentioned letter, the pope highly praiſes the king's generous deſign *, and recommends to him the civilizing the natives, the protection of the Church, and the payment of *Peter-pence*. The ill ſucceſs of all paſt endeavours to procure from a people ſo miſerable and irreligious, this revenue to the holy ſee, was a main inducement with the pope to be eaſy and liberal in his grant; for the king profeſſed a deſign of ſecuring its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until ſome years after, when there happened an incident to ſet it forward, as we ſhall relate in its place. * * *

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* *Rad. de Dicets.*

HENRY the SECOND's Character.

Extracted from the MONKS.

Hard to gather his Character *from ſuch bad* AUTHORS.

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambaſſadors from both empires, Eaſt and Weſt, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breaſt, broken voice, temperate in meat, uſing much exerciſe, juſt ſtature, *forma elegantiſſima, colore ſubrufo, oculis glaucis*, ſharp wit, very great memory, conſtancy in adverſity [and] in felicity, except at laſt he yielded, becauſe almoſt forſaken of all; liberal, impoſed few tributes, excellent ſoldier and fortunate, wiſe and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promiſing in adverſity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in proſperity; covetous to his domeſticks and children, although liberal to ſoldiers and ſtrangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than juſtice; very luſtful, which likewiſe turned his ſons and others from him. *Roſamond* and the labyrinth at *Woodſtock*. Not very religious *; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans; largus in publico, parcus in private.*

Conſtant.

* *Brompton.*

Conſtant in love and hatred, falſe to his word, moroſe, a lover of eaſe. Oppreſſor of nobles, ſullen, and a delayer of juſtice; *verbo varius & verſutus*———Uſed churchmen well after *Becket's* death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated ſlaughter and cruelty *. A great memory, and always knew thoſe he once ſaw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and forwards to *Normandy*, &c. of moſt endleſs deſires to increaſe his dominions. * * * *

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Cætera deſiderantur.

* *Giral.*

THE

ANSWER

OF THE

Right Honourable W——M P——Y, Eſq;

TO THE

Right Honourable Sir R——T W——E.*

SIR, Oct. 15. 1730.

A PAMPHLET was lately ſent me, entitled, *A letter from the Right Hon. Sir* R. W. *to the Right Hon.* W. P. *Eſq; occaſioned by the late Invectives on the King, her Majeſty, and all the Royal Family.* By theſe initial letters of our names, the world is to underſtand that you and I muſt be meant. Although the letter ſeems to require an anſwer, yet becauſe it appears to be written rather in the ſtyle and manner uſed by ſome of your penſioners, than your own, I ſhall allow you the liberty to think the ſame of this anſwer, and leave the public to determine which of the two actors can better perſonate their principles. That frigid and fuſtian way of haranguing, wherewith your repreſenter begins, continues, and ends his declamation, I ſhall leave to the critics

* Written by Dr. Swift.

tics in eloquence and propriety to deſcant on; becauſe it adds nothing to the weight of your accuſations, nor will my defence be one grain the better, by expoſing its puerilities.

I ſhall therefore only remark upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in moſt other arts and ſciences, as law, phyſic (I ſhall proceed no further) are uſually much more plauſibly defended than in that of politics; whether it be, that by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt miniſter is always left to the management of the meaneſt and moſt proſtitute writers; or whether it be, that the effects of a wicked or unſkilful adminiſtration, are more public, viſible, pernicious and univerſal. Whereas the miſtakes in other ſciences are often matters that affect only ſpeculation; or, at worſt, the bad conſequences fall upon few and private perſons. A nation is quickly ſenſible of the miſeries it feels, and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours conferred on thoſe who ſit at the helm, or the ſalaries paid to their pen-men; while the body of the people is ſunk into poverty and deſpair. A *Frenchman* in his wooden ſhoes may, from the vanity of his nation, and the conſtitution of that government, conceive ſome imaginary pleaſure in boaſting the grandeur of his monarch, in the midſt of his own ſlavery: but a freeborn *Engliſhman*, with all his loyalty, can find little ſatisfaction at a miniſter overgrown in wealth and power, from the loweſt degree

gree of want and contempt; when that power or wealth are drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow ſubject is a ſufferer, except the great man himſelf, his family, and his penſioners. I mean ſuch miniſter (if there hath ever been ſuch a one) whoſe whole management hath been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and miſtakes in every article, beſides that of enriching and aggrandizing himſelf.

For theſe reaſons, the faults of men, who are moſt truſted in public buſineſs, are, of all others, the moſt difficult to be defended. A man may be perſuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he hath ſmall concern: but no oratory can have the power over a ſober man, againſt the conviction of his own ſenſes: and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on ſuch advocates might be more prudently ſpared, and kept in ſuch a miniſter's own pocket, than laviſhed in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flouriſhing in trade and wealth, which every particular ſubject (except thoſe few already excepted) can lawfully ſwear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falſhood.

Give me leave, noble Sir, in the way of argument, to ſuppoſe this to be your caſe; could you in good conſcience, or moral juſtice, chide your paper advocates for their ill ſucceſs in perſuading the world againſt manifeſt demonſtration? Their miſcarriage is owing, alas! to want of matter. Should

Should we allow them to be maſters of wit, raillery, or learning, yet the ſubject would not admit them to exerciſe their talents; and, conſequently, they can have no recourſe but to impudence, lying, and ſcurrility.

I muſt confeſs, that the author of your letter to me, hath carried this laſt qualification to a greater height than any of his fellows: but he hath, in my opinion, failed a little in point of politeneſs, from the original which he affects to imitate. If I ſhould ſay to a prime miniſter, Sir, you have ſufficiently provided, that *Dunkirk* ſhould be abſolutely demoliſhed, and never repaired; you took the beſt advantages of a long and general peace, to diſcharge the immenſe debts of the nation; you did wonders with the fleet; you made the *Spaniards* ſubmit to our quiet poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon;* you never enriched yourſelf and family at the expence of the public.—Such is the ſtyle of your ſuppoſed letter, which, however, if I am well informed, by no means comes up to the refinements of a fiſhwife in *Billingſgate. You never had a baſtard by* Tom *the waterman; you never ſtole a ſilver tankard; you were never whipped at the cart's tail.*

In the title of your letter, it is ſaid to be *occaſioned by the late invectives on the King, her Majeſty, and all the royal Family:* and the whole contents of the paper (ſtripped from your eloquence) goes on upon a ſuppoſition affectedly ſerious, that their majeſties, and the whole royal family, have been lately bitterly and publicly inveighed againſt

in

in the moſt enormous and treaſonable manner. Now, being a man, *as you well know*, altogether out of buſineſs, I do ſometimes loſe an hour in reading a few of thoſe controverſial papers upon politics, which have ſucceeded for ſome years paſt to the polemical tracts between *Whig* and *Tory*: and in this kind of reading (if it may deſerve to be ſo called) although I have been often but little edified, or entertained, yet hath it given me occaſion to make ſome obſervations. Firſt, I have obſerved, that however men may ſincerely agree in all the branches of the low-church principle, in a tenderneſs for diſſenters of every kind, in a perfect abhorrence of popery and the pretender, and in the moſt firm adherence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the royal houſe of *Hanover*; yet plenty of matter may ariſe to kindle their animoſities againſt each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I obſerved, that although the vulgar reproach which charges the quarrels between miniſters and their oppoſers, to be only a contention for power between thoſe who are in, and thoſe who would be in if they could; yet, as long as this proceeds no further than a ſcuffle of ambition among a few perſons, it is only a matter of courſe, whereby the public is little affected. But when corruptions are plain, open, and undiſguiſed, both in their cauſes and effects, to the hazard of a nation's ruin, and ſo declared by all the principal perſons and the bulk of the people, thoſe

thoſe only excepted who are gainers by thoſe corruptions: and when ſuch miniſters are forced to fly for ſhelter to the throne, with a complaint of diſaffection to majeſty againſt all who durſt diſlike their adminiſtration. Such a general diſpoſition in the minds of men, cannot, I think, by any rules of reaſon, be called the *clamour of a few diſaffected incendiaries*, gaſping after power. It is the true voice of the people; which muſt and will at laſt be heard, or produce conſequences that I dare not mention.

I have obſerved, thirdly, that among all the offenſive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where theſe were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no part of the ſubject: nor can it be properly objected, that ſuch a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice towards you and your aſſiſtants; becauſe to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly oppoſite to the principles that thoſe kind of writers have always profeſſed, ſo it would deſtroy the very end they have in purſuit. And it is ſomewhat remarkable, that thoſe very writers againſt you, and the regiment you command, are ſuch as moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves upon all, or upon no occaſions, by their panegyrics on their prince; and, as all of them do this without favour or hire, ſo ſome of them continue the ſame practice, under the ſevereſt proſecution by you and your janiſſaries.

You

You ſeem to know, or at leaſt very ſtrongly to conjecture, who thoſe perſons are that give you ſo much weekly diſquiet. Will you dare to aſſert, that any of theſe are *Jacobites*, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him (for theſe are your expreſſions) and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? Can you think I will deſcend to vindicate myſelf againſt an aſperſion ſo abſurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of miniſtry, without changing our prince: for, if it had been otherwiſe, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid, that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, ſhould be truſted with the thread of a ſingle ſubject's life; for I ſuppoſe it is not yet in your view, to entail the miniſtryſhip in your family. Thus I hope we may live to ſee different miniſters and different meaſures, without any danger to the ſucceſſion in the royal proteſtant line of *Hanover*.

You are pleaſed to advance a topic, which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it, while they had the ſuperiority. You tell us, It is hard, that while every private man ſhall have the liberty to chooſe what ſervants he pleaſeth, the ſame privilege ſhould be refuſed to a king. This aſſertion, crudely underſtood, can hardly be ſupported. If by ſervants be only meant thoſe who are purely menial, who provide for their maſter's

maſter's food and clothing, or for the convenience and ſplendor of his family, the point is not worth debating. But the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a ſecretary, an ambaſſador, a treaſurer, and many other officers, is of very high conſequence to the whole kingdom: ſo is likewiſe that amphibious race of courtiers between ſervants and miniſters; ſuch as the ſteward, chamberlain, treaſurer of the houſhold, and the like, being all of the privy council, and ſome of the cabinet, who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great inſtruments of good or evil, both to the ſubject and the prince; ſo that the parallel is by no means adequate between a prince's court and a private family. And yet if an inſolent footman be troubleſome in the neighbourhood; if he breaks the peoples windows, inſults their ſervants, breaks into other folks houſes, to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favourite in his ſtation, yet thoſe who are injured, may, without juſt offence, complain to his lord, and for want of redreſs get a warrant to ſend him to the ſtocks, to *Bridewell*, or to *Newgate*, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the ſervants of the prince, whether menial or otherwiſe, if they be of his council, are ſubject to the enquiries and proſecutions of the great council of the nation, even as far as to capital puniſhment; and ſo muſt ever be in our conſtitution, till a miniſter can procure a majority even of that council to ſhelter him;

which I am ſure you will allow to be a deſperate criſis, under any party of the moſt plauſible denomination.

The only inſtance you produce, or rather inſinuate, to prove the late invectives againſt the king, queen, and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the *Engliſh* hiſtory, publiſhed in ſeveral papers by the *Craftſman*; wherein are ſhewn the bad conſequences to the public, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil miniſters in moſt reigns, and at ſeveral periods, when the throne was filled by wiſe monarchs as well as by weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reaſonably give the leaſt offence to a *Britiſh* king, when he ſhall obſerve that the greateſt and ableſt of his predeceſſors, by their own candour, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have ſometimes put too much truſt in confident, inſinuating, and avaricious miniſters.

Wiſdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be impoſed on. Thus *Milton* deſcribes *Uriel*, *the ſharpeſt-ſighted ſpirit in heaven*, and *regent of the ſun*, deceived by the diſſimulation and flattery of the devil, for which the poet gives a philoſophical reaſon, but needleſs here to quote. Is any thing more common, or more uſeful, than to caution wiſe men in high ſtations, againſt putting too much truſt in undertaking ſervants, cringing flatterers, or deſigning friends? Since the *Aſiatic* cuſtom of governing by prime miniſters hath prevailed in ſo many

courts

courts of *Europe*, how careful ſhould every prince be in the choice of the perſon on whom ſo great a truſt is devolved, whereon depend the ſafety and welfare of himſelf and all his ſubjects. Queen *Elizabeth*, whoſe adminiſtration is frequently quoted as the beſt pattern for *Engliſh* princes to follow, could not reſiſt the artifices of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who, although univerſally allowed to be the moſt ambitious, inſolent, and corrupt perſon of his age, was yet her greateſt, and almoſt her only favourite: (his religion indeed being partly puritan, and partly infidel, might have better tallied with preſent times): yet this wiſe queen would never ſuffer the openeſt enemies of that overgrown lord to be ſacrificed to his vengeance; nor durſt he charge them with a deſign of introducing popery or the *Spaniſh* pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whoſe maſters have paſſed for perſons of good abilities, during the whole courſe of their lives, and yet the greateſt part of whoſe eſtates have ſunk in the hands of their ſtewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in ſcanty portions, at large diſcount, and treble intereſt, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the ſame time accuſed to their landlords of inſolvency. Of this ſpecies are ſuch managers, who, like honeſt *Peter Waters*, pretend to clear an eſtate, keep the owner pennyleſs, and, after ſeven years, leave him five times more

in debt, while they ſink half a plum into their own pockets.

Thoſe who think themſelves concerned, may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleaſed to allow them, of *taking vengeance on the miniſters, and there ſhooting their envenomed arrows.* As to myſelf, I neither owe you vengeance, nor make uſe of ſuch weapons: but it is your weakneſs, or ill fortune, or perhaps the fault of your conſtitution, to convert wholeſome remedies into poiſon; for you have received better and more frequent inſtructions than any miniſter of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promiſe you the thanks of half the kingdom, if you will pleaſe to perform the promiſe you have made, of ſuffering the *Craftſman* and company, or whatever other *infamous wretches and execrable villains* you mean, to take their vengeance only on your own ſacred miniſterial perſon, without bringing any of your brethren, much leſs the moſt remote branch of the royal family into the debate. This generous offer I ſuſpected from the firſt; becauſe there were never heard of ſo many, ſo unneceſſary, and ſo ſevere proſecutions as you have promoted during your miniſtry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the preſs is ſo much pretended to be allowed. But in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that *theſe miſcreants* (meaning the writers againſt you) *are to remember that the laws have* ABUN-

DANTLY

BANTLY LESS *generous, leſs mild and merciful ſentiments* than yourſelf; and into their ſecular hands the poor authors muſt be delivered to fines, priſons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promiſe of impunity, which began ſomewhat jeſuitically, concludes with the mercy of a *Spaniſh* inquiſitor.

If it ſhould ſo happen, that I am neither *abettor, patron, protector* nor *ſupporter* of theſe imaginary invectives *againſt the king, her majeſty, or any of the royal family*, I deſire to know what ſatisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now anſwering? It will be no excuſe to ſay, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reaſon and practice; becauſe that will be to load the beſt, the ſoundeſt, and moſt numerous part of the kingdom, with the denominations you are pleaſed to beſtow upon me, that they are *Jacobites, wicked miſcreants, infamous wretches, execrable villains, and defamers of the king, queen, and all the royal family*, and *guilty of high treaſon*. You cannot know my ſtyle; but I can eaſily know your works, which are performed in the ſight of the ſun. Your good inclinations are viſible; but I begin to doubt the ſtrength of your credit, even at court, that you have not power to make his majeſty believe me the perſon which you repreſent in your libel: as moſt infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, becauſe I muſt otherwiſe have found it by the marks of his royal diſpleaſure. However, to be angry with

you, to whom I am indebted for the greateſt obligation I could poſſibly receive, would be the higheſt ingratitude. It is to YOU I owe that reputation I have acquired for ſome years paſt, of being a lover of my country and its conſtitution: to YOU I owe the libels and ſcurrilities conferred upon me by the worſt of men, and conſequently ſome degree of eſteem and friendſhip from the beſt. From YOU I learned the ſkill of diſtinguiſhing between a *patriot* and a *plunderer* of his country: and from YOU I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and uſeful ſervant to the beſt of princes, king *George* the ſecond. And therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble ſubmiſſion and reſpect, but with infinite gratitude, Sir, your moſt obedient and moſt obliged ſervant,

W. P.

TO THE

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.

SIR, Dublin, in Ireland, Nov. 2. 1719.

IT is now about ſixteen years ſince I firſt entertained the deſign of writing a hiſtory of *England*, from the beginning of *William Rufus*, to the end of Queen *Elizabeth*; ſuch a hiſtory, I mean, as appears to be moſt wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous

voluminous work, nor properly an abridgement, but an exact relation of the moſt important affairs and events, without any regard to the reſt. My intention was to inſcribe it to the king* your late maſter, for whoſe great virtues I had ever the higheſt veneration, as I ſhall continue to bear to his memory. I confeſs, it is with ſome diſdain, that I obſerve great authors deſcending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of *Europe*, I could think of none who might deſerve that diſtinction from me, beſides the king your maſter; (for I ſay nothing of his preſent *Britannic* majeſty, to whoſe perſon and character I am an utter ſtanger, and like to continue ſo): neither can I be ſuſpected of flattery on this point, ſince it was ſome years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his miniſter in *England*, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witneſs, I might have avoided ſome years uneaſineſs and vexation, during the laſt four years of our late excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy proſpect ſince, in a moſt obſcure diſagreeable country, and among a moſt profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from purſuing this hiſtory, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction

* Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ball, at the ſiege of Frederickſhall, in the year 1718.

faction which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet, until you ſaw me in *England*: when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and buſineſs of another kind. Upon her majeſty's lamented death, I returned to my ſtation in this kingdom; ſince which time, there is not a northern curate among you, who hath lived more obſcure than myſelf, or a greater ſtranger to the commoneſt tranſactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almoſt forgotten. I publiſh them now, for two reaſons: firſt, for an encouragement to thoſe who have more youth*, and leiſure, and good temper than I, towards purſuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they pleaſe; the ſecond reaſon is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound reſpect I have for the memory of your royal maſter, and the ſincere regard and friendſhip I bear to yourſelf; for I muſt bring to your mind how proud I was to diſtinguiſh you among all the foreign miniſters, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witneſs of the zeal you ſhewed, not only for the honour and intereſt of your maſter, but for the advantage of the Proteſtant religion in *Germany*, and how knowingly and feelingly you often ſpoke to me upon that ſubject. We all loved you, as poſſeſſed of every quality that could adorn an *Engliſh* gentleman, and eſteemed you as a faithful ſubject to your prince, and an able negociator; neither

* The author was then in his fifty-ſecond year.

ther ſhall any reverſe of fortune have power to leſſen you either in my friendſhip or eſteem: and I muſt take leave to aſſure you further, that my affection towards perſons hath not been at all diminiſhed, by the frown of power upon them. Thoſe whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue ſtill ſo in my eyes and my heart; only with a * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Cætera deſiderantur.

OF

MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES, made by ſeveral Perſons.

Of thoſe who have made GREAT FIGURES *in ſome particular Action or Circumſtance of their Lives.*

ALEXANDER the Great, after his victory, [at the Streights of Mount Taurus] when he entered the tent where the Queen and Princeſſes of Perſia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole laſt day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poiſon, to the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his baniſhment; the people, through every place he paſſed, meeting him with ſhouts of joy and congratulation,

tulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he muſt be put to a cruel death, for adviſing the Romans to purſue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the elder, when he diſmiſſed a beautiful captive lady, preſented to him after a great victory, turning his head aſide to preſerve his own virtue.

The ſame Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the meſſengers, ſent by the ſenate to make him Dictator, found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Perſian ambaſſador came to his houſe, and found him in the midſt of poverty.

The Earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at ſupper on the King of France, whom he had conquered and taken priſoner the ſame day.

Virgil, when at Rome, the whole audience roſe up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved miſtreſs's head, on a ſtage erected for that purpoſe,

, to convince his ſoldiers, who taxed him
erring his love to his glory.
ıwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hide-

y the Great of France, when he entered
and ſat at cards the ſame night with ſome
ıdies, who were his mortal enemies.
ırt Harley Earl of Oxford, at his trial.
of Utica, when he provided for the ſafe-
is friends, and had determined to die.
Thomas More, during his impriſonment,
his execution.
us, when the ſoldier, ſent to kill him in
ıgeon, was ſtruck with ſo much awe and
ion, that his ſword fell from his hand.
glas, when the ſhip he commanded was on
d he lay down to die in it, becauſe it ſhould
ſaid, that one of his family ever quitted
ɔſt.
ſerom Bows, * * * * *
* * * * * * *

who have made a MEAN CONTEMPTIBLE
URE, *in ſome Action or Circumſtance of their*
s.

ɔny at Actium, when he fled after Cleo-

ıpey, when he was killed on the ſea-ſhore
pt.
ɔ and Vitellius, when they were put to

Lepidus,

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his ſhare of the triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refuſed the Kingſhip out of fear.

Perſeus King of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II. of England, after he was depoſed.

The late King of Poland, when the King of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again upon the King of Sweden's defeat by the Muſcovites.

King James II. of England, when the Prince of Orange ſent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III. of England, when he ſent to beg the Houſe of Commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refuſed.

The late Queen Anne of England, when ſhe ſent Whitworth to Muſcovy on an embaſſy of humiliation, for an inſult committed here on that Prince's ambaſſador.

The Lord Chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late Duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own diſgrace, to carry his Dutcheſs's gold key to the Queen.

The old Earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch Lord gave him a laſh with a whip at New-market, in preſence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II. of England, when he entered

ed into the ſecond Dutch war, and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II. of Spain, after the defeat of the Armada.

The Emperor Charles V. when he reſigned his crown, and no body would believe his reaſons.

King Charles I. of England, when, in gallantry to his Queen, he thought to ſurpriſe her with a preſent of a diamond buckle, which he puſhed down her breaſt, and tore her fleſh with the tongue; upon which ſhe drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament-general, at the time of King Charles's trial.

Julius Cæſar, when Antony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people ſhouted for joy to ſee him decline it; which he never offered to do, until he ſaw their diſlike in their countenances.

Coriolannus, when he withdrew his army from Rome, at the entreaty of his mother.

Hannibal at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the ſtage, he was run into his breaſt, which he opened and ſhewed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a laughing.

The Count de Buſſy Rabutin, when he was recalled to court, after twenty years baniſhment into the country, and affected to make the ſame figure he did in his youth.

The Earl of Sunderland, when he turned Pa-

piſt in the time of King James II. and underwent all the forms of a heretic converted.

Pope Clement the VII. when he was taken priſoner at Rome, by the Emperor Charles V.'s forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when ſhe ſuffered Bothwell to raviſh her, and pleaded that as an excuſe for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the Pope, to be held as a fief from the ſee of Rome.

CONCERNING

THAT UNIVERSAL HATRED

WHICH

PREVAILS againſt the CLERGY.

MAY 24, 1736.

I HAVE been long conſidering and conjecturing what could be the cauſes of that great diſguſt, of late, againſt the Clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known, till that monſter and tyrant Henry VIII. who took away from them, againſt law, reaſon, and juſtice, at leaſt two-thirds of their legal poſſeſſions; and whoſe ſucceſſors (except Queen Mary) went on with their rapine till the acceſſion of King James I. That deteſtable tyrant Henry VIII. although he aboliſhed the Pope's power in England, as univerſal biſhop, yet

yet what he did in that article, however juſt as it were in itſelf, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himſelf from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman, whom he afterwards beheaded. But, at the ſame time, he was an entire defender of all the Popiſh doctrines, even thoſe which were the moſt abſurd. And, while he put people to death, for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender againſt the doctrines of the Roman Faith; and cut off the head of Sir Thomas More, a perſon of the greateſt virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world, there was never ſo infernal a beaſt as Henry VIII. in every vice of the moſt odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: But cruelty, luſt, rapine, and atheiſm, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the Pope for no other reaſon, than to give his full ſwing to commit ſacrilege, in which no tyrant, ſince Chriſtianity became national, did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeys, endowed with lands by the miſtaken notion of well-diſpoſed men, were indeed too numerous, and hurtful to the kingdom; and therefore, the legiſlature might, after the Reformation, have juſtly applied them to ſome pious or public uſes.

In a very few centuries after Chriſtianity became national in moſt parts of Europe, although the Church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early

chriſtians, as well as new converts, was ſo great, and particularly of princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy perſons, that they built many religious houſes, for thoſe who were inclined to live in a recluſe or ſolitary manner, endowing thoſe monaſteries with land. It is true, we read of monks ſome ages before, who dwelt in caves and cells, in deſert places. But when public edifices were erected and endowed, they began gradually to degenerate into idleneſs, ignorance, avarice, ambition, and luxury, after the uſual fate of all human inſtitutions. The popes, who had already aggrandiſed themſelves, laid hold of the opportunity to ſubject all religious houſes with their priors and abbots, to their peculiar authority; whereby theſe religious orders became of an intereſt directly different from the reſt of mankind, and wholly at the pope's devotion. I need ſay no more on this article, ſo generally known and ſo frequently treated, or of the frequent endeavours of ſome other princes, as well as our own, to check the growth, and wealth, and power of the regulars.

In later times, this miſtaken piety of erecting and endowing abbeys, began to decreaſe. And therefore, when ſome new-invented ſect of monks and friars began to ſtart up, not being able to procure grants of land, they got leave from the pope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain pariſhes, as contiguous or near as they could find, obliging themſelves to ſend out ſome of their body to take care of the people's ſouls: And,

if

if ſome of thoſe pariſhes were at too great a diſtance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them were paid, for the cure, either a ſmall ſtipend of a determined ſum, or ſometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers, that in England, they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked Prince above-mentioned, when he had caſt off the Pope's power, had introduced ſome reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the moſt cruel perſecutor of all thoſe who differed in the leaſt article of the Popiſh religion, which was then the national and eſtabliſhed faith, his ſeizing on thoſe lands, and applying them to prophane uſes, was abſolute ſacrilege, in the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to ſacred uſes.

In the reign of this Prince, the Church and Court of Rome had arrived to ſuch a height of corruption, in doctrine and diſcipline, as gave great offence to many wiſe, learned, and pious men through moſt parts of Europe; and ſeveral countries agreed to make ſome reformation in religion. But, although a proper and juſt reformation were allowed to be neceſſary, even to preſerve Chriſtianity itſelf, yet the paſſions and vices of men had mingled themſelves ſo far, as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of

thoſe who intended well: And thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the moſt impious and ſcandalous manner that can poſſibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the juſt reproaches that Roman Catholics have caſt upon us ever ſince. For, when the northern kingdoms and ſtates grew weary of the Pope's tyranny, and when their preachers, beginning with the ſcandalous abuſes of indulgencies, and proceeding farther to examine ſeveral points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in ſome fear leſt ſuch a change might affect the peace of their countries, becauſe their biſhops had great influence on the people by their wealth and power; theſe politic teachers had a ready anſwer to this purpoſe. "Sir, your Majeſty need not "be in any pain or apprehenſion: Take away "the lands, and ſink the authority of the biſhops: "Beſtow thoſe lands on your courtiers, on your "nobles, and your great officers in your army; "and then you will be ſecure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And, in the Proteſtant monarchies abroad, little more than the ſhadow of Epiſcopacy is left; but in the republics, is wholly extinct.

In England the Reformation was brought in after a ſomewhat different manner, but upon the ſame principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII. with great dexterity, diſcovered an invention to gratify his inſatiable thirſt for blood, on both religions. * * * * *

A LET-

A

LETTER

Giving an ACCOUNT of

A PESTILENT NEIGHBOUR.

SIR,

YOU muſt give me leave to complain of a *peſtilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he uſeth ſuch hard words, that I want a Drugger-man to interpret them. But all is not gold that *gliſters*. *A pot he carries* to moſt houſes where he viſits. He makes his Prentice his *gally*-ſlave. I wiſh our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *ſpring* his ſhop is crouded with country-folks; who, by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of miſchief. He is full of *ſcruples*; and ſo very litigious, that he *files bills* againſt all his acquaintance: And, though he be much troubled with the *ſimples*, yet I aſſure you he is a *Jeſuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-atick* beſt. I am, *&c.*

A LET-

A

LETTER

TO THE

EARL of PEMBROKE.

MY LORD, 1709, at a Conjecture.

IT is now a good while ſince I reſolved to take ſome occaſion of congratulating with your Lordſhip, and condoling with the public, upon your Lordſhip's leaving the Admiralty: and I thought I could never chooſe a better time, than when I am in the country with my Lord Biſhop of Clogher and his brother the Doctor *: For we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble ſervants and true admirers of your Lordſhip, as any you have in both iſlands. You may well call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you pleaſe to *try-um* they will *vie* with the beſt, and are of the firſt *rate*, though they are not, *men of war*, but men of church. To ſay the truth, it was a pity your Lordſhip ſhould be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your Lordſhip is *caſt away*, you are not *ſunk*: nor never will be, ſince nothing is out of your Lordſhip's *depth*. Dr. Aſhe ſays, it is but juſtice that your Lordſhip, who is a man of *letters*, ſhould be placed upon the *poſt-office*; and my Lord Biſhop adds, that he hopes to ſee

* Doctor St. George Aſhe.

ſee your Lordſhip toſſed from that *poſt* to be a *pillar* of ſtate again; which he deſired I would put in by way of *poſtſcript*. I am,

My LORD, &c.

A

LETTER

TO THE

EARL of PEMBROKE,

Pretended to be the DYING SPEECH of TOM ASHE, whoſe Brother, the Reverend DILLON ASHE, was nicknamed DILLY. *

(Given to Dr. MONSEY by Sir ANDREW FOUNTAIN, and communicated to the Editor of theſe Volumes by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging Gentleman.)

TOM ASHE died laſt night. It is conceived he was ſo puffed up by my Lord Lieutenant's *favour*, that it ſtruck him into a *fever*. I here

* Thomas Aſhe, Eſq; deſcended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltſhire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious pleaſant companion, but the moſt eternal unwearied punſter that perhaps ever lived. He was thick and ſhort in his perſon, being not above five feet high at the moſt, and had

here ſend you his dying ſpeech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in ſhort-hand. It is ſomething long, and a little incoherent; but he was ſeveral hours delivering it, and with ſeveral intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he ſpoke to them thus:

MY FRIENDS,

IT is time for a man to look *grave* when he has one foot there. I once had only a *punnick* fear of death, but, of late, I have *pundred* it more ſeriouſly. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *diſſolute*, men ſeldomeſt think

had ſomething very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole eſtate, of about a thouſand pounds a year, to his intimate friend and kinſman Richard Aſhe of Aſhefield, Eſq. There is a whimſical ſtory, and a very true one, of Tom Aſhe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened, that, while he was travelling on horſeback, and at a conſiderable diſtance from any town, there burſt from the clouds ſuch a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward, and as ſoon as he came to an inn, he was met inſtantly by a drawer: "Here," ſaid he to the fellow, ſtretching out one of his arms, "take off my coat immediately." "No, Sir, I "won't," ſaid the drawer. "Pox confound you," ſaid Aſhe, "take off my coat this inſtant." "No, Sir," replied the drawer, "I dare not take off your coat; for it is felony to ſtrip "an ASH." Tom was delighted beyond meaſure, frequently told the ſtory, and ſaid he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, *The Dying Words of Tom Aſhe*, was written ſeveral years before the deceaſe of Tom, and was merely deſigned to exhibit the manner in which ſuch an eternal punſter might have expreſſed himſelf on his death-bed.

think of *diſſolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that ſupported myſelf with good *wine*, muſt now be myſelf ſupported by a *ſmall bier*.——A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and ſaid, This man is to be a great traveller: He will ſoon be at the *Diet* of *Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratiſbone*. But now I underſtand his double meaning.—I deſire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury* Fair; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itſelf beſt expreſſes the number, neither *few nor all*.—A dying man ſhould not think of *obſequies*, but *ob ſe qui es*.—Little did I think you would ſo ſoon ſee poor *Tom ſtown* under a *tomb ſtone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, ſo a man of my ſmall *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away.—Sometimes I've *rav'd* that I ſhould *revive*; but phyſicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we ſhall find the *cor die all*, in ſpite of the higheſt *cordial*.—Brother, you are fond of *Daffy*'s elixir; but, when Death comes, the world will ſee that, in ſpite of *Daffy down Dilly**.—Whatever Doctors *may deſign* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropſy*, *drops he* not, in ſpite of Goddard's *drops*, though none are reckoned ſuch *high drops?*—I find death ſmells the blood of an Engliſhman: A *fee faintly fumbled* out, will be a weak defence againſt his *fee fa fum*.——*P. T.* are no letters in Death's

* A nickname of Tom Aſhe's brother.

Death's *alphabet*; he has not *half a bit* of either: He moves his *ſithe*, but will not be moved by all our *ſighs*.—Every thing ought to put us in mind of death: Phyſicians affirm that our very food breeds it in us, ſo that in our *dieting*, we may be ſaid to *di-eating*.—There is ſomething ominous, not only in the names of diſeaſes, as *di*-arrhæa, *di*-abetes, *di*-ſentery, but even in the drugs deſigned to preſerve our lives; as *di*-acodium, *di*-apente, *di*-aſcordium.——I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) *lay thumb* on my *pulſe*, then *pulls* it back, as if he ſaw *Lethum* in my face. I ſee as bad in his; for ſure there is no *phyſick* like a *ſick phiz*. He thinks I ſhall *deceaſe* before the *day ceaſe*; but, before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is *told* that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's *toll*, I do deſire to give ſome advice to thoſe that ſurvive me. Firſt, Let gameſters conſider that death is *hazard* and *paſſage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers conſider it is a hard *caſe*. And let punners conſider how hard it is to *die jeſting*, when death is ſo hard in *digeſting*.

As for my Lord Lieutenant the earl *Mungomerry*, I am ſure he *be-wales* my misfortune; and it would move him to ſtand by, when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd ſplutter*) *nails* up my coffin. I will make a ſhort *affidavi*-t, that, if he makes my *epitaph I* will take it for a great honour; and it is a plentiful ſubject. His Excellency may ſay, that the art of punning is dead with Tom. Tom has taken all puns

puns away with him: *Omne tulit pun-Tom.*——May his Excellency long *live tenant* to the Queen in Ireland. We never *Herberd* ſo good a governor before. Sure he *mun go-merry* home, that has made a kingdom ſo happy.——I hear my friends deſign to publiſh a collection of my puns. Now I do confeſs, I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo*; therefore the world muſt read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges.*——I have had ſeveral forebodings that I ſhould ſoon die: I have, of late, been often at committees, where I have ſate de *die* in *diem.*——I converſed much with the *uſher* of the *black rod*; I ſaw his *medals*; and woe is *me dull* ſoul, not to conſider they are but dead mens faces *ſtampt over* and *over* by the living, which will ſhortly be my condition.

Tell Sir Andrew *Fountain* I *ran* clear to the *bottom*, and wiſh he may be a late *a-river* where I am going. He uſed to *brook* my compliments. May his *ſand* be long a *running*; not *quickſand*, like mine. Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books, which is in reality but *running* among *rocks* and *ſhelves*, to *ſtop* his *courſe*. May his *waters* never be *troubled* with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *ſtopt* by any *grinding ſtone*. May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid flat as *flounders*. I look upon him as the moſt *fluent* of his *race*; therefore let him not deſpond. I foreſee his black *rod* will *advance* to a *pike*, and deſtroy all our *ills*.

But, I am going; my *wind in* lungs is turning

to a *winding* ſheet. The thoughts of *a pall* begin to *a-pall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cauſe. Farewel: I have lived ad amicorum *faſtidium*, and now behold how *faſt I di um!*

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are ſome falſe ſpellings here and there, but they muſt be pardoned in a dying man.

A

LETTER

TO THE

KING AT ARMS.

[From a reputed ESQUIRE, one of the SUBSCRIBERS to the BANK.]

SIR, November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing ſome notes and queries upon that liſt of the Subſcribers Names, which was publiſhed by order of the Commiſſioners for receiving of Subſcriptions, I find ſome hints and inuendos that would ſeem to inſinuate, as if I and ſome others were only *reputed* Eſquires; and our caſe is referred to you in your kingly capacity. I deſire you will pleaſe to let me know the loweſt price of a real Eſquire's coat of Arms: and if we can agree, I will give my

my bond to pay you out of the firſt intereſt I receive for my ſubſcription; becauſe things are a little low with me at preſent, by throwing my whole fortune into the Bank, having ſubſcribed for five hundred pounds ſterling.

I hope you will not queſtion my pretenſions to this title, when I let you know that my godfather was a juſtice of peace, and I myſelf have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horſe, in which poſt he rode before the greateſt lords of the land; and, in long marches, he alone preſided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open houſe in Dublin, where ſeveral hundreds were ſupported with meat and drink, bought at her own charge, or with her perſonal credit, until ſome envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.

As to myſelf, I have been, for ſeveral years, a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to ſtick cloſe, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of ſeveral fine ladies; who, each of them at different times, gave me ſuch coloured knots and public marks of diſtinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my addreſſes. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unleſs I gave them the glaſs with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my Miſtreſſes, and owned that title publicly. I have been told that the true ancient em-

ployment of a Squire was to carry a Knight's ſhield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witneſſes to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a ſhield, like my predeceſſors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a Knight upon my coat. I have likewiſe borne the King's Arms in my hand as a mark of authority, and hung them painted before my dwelling-houſe, as a mark of my calling: So that I may truly ſay his Majeſty's Arms have been my ſupporters. I have been a ſtrict and conſtant follower of men of quality; I have diligently purſued the ſteps of ſeveral Squires; and am able to behave myſelf as well as the beſt of them, whenever there ſhall be occaſion.

I deſire it may be no diſadvantage to me, that, by the new act of parliament going to paſs for preſerving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this ſhould be the teſt of Squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myſelf, who muſt all be unſquired, becauſe a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a Squireſhip? Might not I be a real Squire, although there was no ſuch thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, Sir, are greyhounds, to be from henceforth the ſupporters of every Squire's coat of arms? Although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? May not I

have an order from the Governors of the Bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obſtante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a Bank againſt the votes of the two Houſes? But however, this difficulty will ſoon be overcome. I am promiſed 125 l. a year for ſubſcribing 500 l.; and of this 500 l. I am to pay in only 25 l. ready money: The governors will truſt me for the reſt, and pay themſelves out of the intereſt by 25 l. *per cent.* So that I intend to receive only 40 l. a year, to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85 l. go on 'till it makes 500 l. then 1000 l. then 10,000 l. then 100,000 l. then a million, and ſo forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and ſelling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in theſe hard times. I am,

SIR,

Your friend, and

Servant to command,

A. B. ESQUIRE.

Poſtſcript. I hope you will favourably repreſent my caſe to the publiſher of the Paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for *A. B. Eſquire*, at —— in ——; and, pray get ſome parliament-man to frank it, for it will coſt a great poſtage to this place.

A

LETTER

TO

MRS. SUSANNA NEVILLE.*

MADAM, June 24, 1732.

I WILL not trouble you with any grave *tophicks*, leſt I ſhould *diſcurmode* you; but rather write in a *farmiliar* and *jococious* way.

You muſt know then, I was the other night at Mrs. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink ſome *jooklit* with us, upon which they fell into a *nargiment* about the beſt *muſicioners* in town: at laſt, Rattle told Tattle, that ſhe did not know the *difrence* between a ſong and a *tympany*. They were going to *defer* the matter to me; but I ſaid, that when people diſputed, it was my way always to ſtand *muter*. You would have thought they were both *intoſticated* with liquor, if you had ſeen them ſo full of outrageouſneſs. However, Mrs. Tattle, as being a very *timberſome* woman, yielded to Rattle; and there was an end of the *diſputement*.——I wonder you do not honour me ſometimes with your company. If I myſelf be no *introducement*, my garden, which has a fine *ruval* look,

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

look, ought to be one. My Tomy would be glad to ſee you before he goes for England, and ſo would I; for I am reſolved to take the *tower* of London before I return. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk, to ſee a clergyman, a near couſin of ours. They ſay that he is an *admiral* good man, and very *horſpital* in his own houſe. I am *determ'd*, when this *vege* is over, never to ſet my foot in a ſtage-coach again; for the jolting of it has put my blood in ſuch a *firmament*, that I have been in an *ego* ever ſince, and have loſt my *nappitite* to ſuch a degree, that I have not eaten a *manſion* of bread, put all together, theſe ſix weeks paſt. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius manſhius*, which has made a perfect *notamy* of me; and my ſpirits are ſo *extorted*, that I am in a perfect *liturgy*, for which I am reſolved to take ſome *rubrick*, although the doctors adviſe me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? when I went to my cellar for a flaſk, I found that my ſervants had *imbelliſhed* it all; for which I am reſolved to give them ſome *hippokockoney* to bring it up again.—I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *crawl*; which I hope you will excuſe from

Your very humble ſervant,

MARY HOWE.

ON

BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR,

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertiſements in ſome of your Dublin news-papers, which are ſent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large liſt of denominations of lands, to be ſold or let. I am confident they muſt be genuine: for it is impoſſible that either chance, or modern invention, could ſort the alphabet in ſuch a manner, as to make thoſe abominable ſounds; whether firſt invented to invoke or fright away the devil, I muſt leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at any thing barbarous, ridiculous, or abſurd among us, this ſhould be one of the firſt. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland, who followed his camp, to come over and civilize us with a conqueſt, as his countryman did Britain, where ſeveral Roman appellations remain to this day: and ſo would the reſt have done, if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them ſo much for the worſe, although in no compariſon with ours. In one of the advertiſements juſt mentioned, I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human ſhape, except an Iriſhman

Iriſhman of the ſavage kind, to pronounce; neither would I undertake ſuch a taſk, to be owner of the lands, unleſs I had liberty to humanize the ſyllables twenty miles round. The legiſlature may think what they pleaſe, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conqueſts of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if any thing hath more contributed to prevent the Iriſh from being tamed, than this encouragement of their language, which might eaſily be aboliſhed, and become a dead one in half an age, with little expence, and leſs trouble.

How is it poſſible that a gentleman, who lives in thoſe parts, where the Town-lands (as they call them) of his eſtate produce ſuch odious ſounds from the mouth, the throat, and the noſe, can be able to repeat the words, without diſlocating every muſcle that is uſed in ſpeaking, and without applying the ſame tone to all other words, in every language he underſtands? As it is plainly to be obſerved, not only in thoſe people, of the better ſort, who live in Galway and the Weſtern parts, but in moſt counties of Ireland.

It is true, that, in the city-part of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and ſo, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewiſe true, that there is an odd provincial cant in moſt counties of England, ſometimes not very pleaſing to the ear: and the Scotch cadence, as well as expreſſion, are offenſive enough. But none of theſe defects derive contempt to the ſpeaker; whereas, what

what we call the Iriſh Brogue is no ſooner diſcovered, than it makes the deliverer, in the laſt degree, ridiculous and deſpiſed: and, from ſuch a mouth, an Engliſhman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail, whether the cenſure be reaſonable or not, ſince the fact is always ſo. And, what is yet worſe, it is too well known, that the bad conſequence of this opinion affects thoſe among us, who are not the leaſt liable to ſuch reproaches, further than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of Engliſh parents, and whoſe education hath been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us, talk much of the great convenience to thoſe who live in the country, that they ſhould ſpeak Iriſh. It may poſſibly be ſo: but, I think, they ſhould be ſuch who never intend to viſit England, upon pain of being ridiculous. For I do not remember to have heard of any one man that ſpoke Iriſh, who had not the accent upon his tongue, eaſily diſcernible to any Engliſh ear.

But I have wandered a little from my ſubject, which was only to propoſe a wiſh, that theſe execrable denominations were a little better ſuited to an Engliſh mouth, if it were only for the ſake of the Engliſh lawyers: who, in trials upon appeals to the Houſe of Lords, find ſo much difficulty in repeating the names, that, if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to diſcover which were their own lands. But, beſides this, I would deſire, not only that the appellations

appellations of what they call Town-lands were changed, but likewiſe of larger diſtricts, and ſeveral towns, and ſome counties; and particularly, the ſeats of country gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to ſolve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means truſt theſe alterations to the owners themſelves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, ſo they ſeem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well ſkilled in proſody. The utmoſt extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrough, a caſtle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet theſe are exceeded by others, whereof ſome have continued anagramatical appellations, from half their own and their names joined together, others only from the lady. As for inſtance, a perſon, whoſe wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his ſeat by the name of *Beſs-borow*. There is likewiſe a famous town, where the worſt iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*. The original of which name I ſhall explain, leſt the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loſs to derive it. It was a moſt witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themſelves with this iron-project. *Sw.* ſtands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I ſee the four loggerheads ſitting in conſult, like Smectimnius, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron-work; and could wiſh they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit.

wit. But I was moſt pleaſed with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately ſaw in an advertiſement of Pue's Paper: "This is to give "notice, that the lands of Douras, *alias* WHIG-"*borow*," &c. Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty, to future ages within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make uſe of this expedient; wherein he ſeems to miſtake his account: for this diſtinguiſhing term, *Whig*, had a moſt infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the Fanatic ſect, and an enemy to kings, and ſo continued till the idea was a little ſoftened, ſome years after the revolution, and during a part of her late Majeſty's reign. After which it was in diſgrace until the Queen's death; ſince which time it hath, indeed, flouriſhed with a witneſs: but how long it will continue ſo, in our variable ſcene, or what kind of mortal it may deſcribe, is a queſtion which this courtly landlord is not able to anſwer. And therefore, he ſhould have ſet a date on the title of his burrow, to let us know what kind of creature a Whig was in that year of our LORD.—I would readily aſſiſt nomenclators of this coſtive imagination; and therefore I propoſe to others of the ſame ſize in thinking, that, when they are at a loſs about chriſtening a country-ſeat, inſtead of ſtraining their invention, they would call it *Booby-burrow*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to expreſs the talents of

of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myſelf to the prudence of this Lord of WHIG-*borow*, becauſe I have not yet heard, among the preſbyterian ſquires, how much ſoever their perſons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have diſtinguiſhed their country-abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like; becauſe there may, poſſibly, come a time when thoſe kind of ſounds may not be ſo grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of diſcretion, upon ſuppoſing a gentleman, in alluſion to his name, or the merit of his anceſtors, to call his houſe *Tyburn-hall*.

But the ſcheme I would propoſe, for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible ſyllables, is by employing ſome gentlemen in the univerſity; who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and their judgment in ſounds, might imitate the Roman way, by tranſlating thoſe hideous words into their Engliſh meanings, and altering the termination, where a bare tranſlation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be eaſily delivered from the mouth. And, when both theſe means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the ſoil, or ſome peculiar circumſtance belonging to it; as, in England, Farnham, Oat-lands, Black-heath, Corn-bury, Rye-gate, Aſh-burnham, Barn-elms, Cole-ortum, Sandwich, and many others.

I am likewiſe apt to quarrel with ſome titles of Lords among us, that have a very ungracious

ſound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to thoſe who have not the honour to be acquainted with their perſons, or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon thoſe gentlemen, who have gotten titles ſince the judicature of the peers among us hath been taken away, to which they all ſubmitted with a reſignation that became good Chriſtians, as undoubtedly they are. However, ſince that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title, to be, at leaſt, forty *per cent.* in the value intrinſic of an Iriſh peerage: and, ſince it is as cheap as the worſt, for any Iriſh law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would adviſe the next ſet, before they paſs their patents, to call a conſultation of ſcholars, and muſical gentlemen, to adjuſt this moſt important and eſſential circumſtance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almoſt under the North Pole, have much more tuneable appellations, except ſome very few, which, I ſuppoſe, were given them by the Iriſh, along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered, and planted from hence; and, to this day, retain the denominations of places, and ſurnames of families, as all hiſtorians agree.

I ſhould likewiſe not be ſorry, if the names of ſome biſhops ſees were ſo much obliged to the alphabet, that, upon pronouncing them, we might contract ſome veneration for the order and perſons of thoſe reverend peers, which the groſs ideas ſometimes joined to their titles, is very unjuſtly apt to diminiſh.

TO

FRANCIS GRANT, Esq;

MERCHANT IN LONDON.

[*Francis Grant, Esq; of London, Merchant, younger ſon of Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Baronet, having an high opinion of the herring and other fiſheries in the Britiſh ſeas, writ and publiſhed a pamphlet, in the year* 1733, *on that ſubject; principally with a view to excite the encouragement of the public, to ſuch of the mercantile people as might engage in a project ſo extremely beneficial. The pamphlet was much eſteemed; but the miniſtry of England, in thoſe days, fearing to offend the Dutch, were not inclined to favour it. Whereupon, Mr. Grant writ a letter to the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, who was then very eminent in Ireland, to try if the patriot party there would eſpouſe the deſign, and reap benefit to their country, from what was thus rejected in England: To which letter the Dean writ the following anſwer, which greatly ſhews the man, as well as the general opinion he had of thoſe times.*]

SIR, Dublin, March 23. 1733-4.

I Return you my hearty thanks for your letter and diſcourſe upon the fiſhery: you diſcover in both, a true love of your country, and (excepting your civilities to me) a very good judg-

ment, good wiſhes to this ruined kingdom, and a perfect knowledge in the ſubject you treat. But you are more temperate than I, and conſequently much wiſer: for corruptions are apt to make me impatient, and give offence, which you prudently avoid.

Ever ſince I began to think, I was enraged at the folly of England, in ſuffering the Dutch to have almoſt the whole advantage of our fiſhery, juſt under our noſes.

The laſt Lord Wemys told me, he was governor of a caſtle in Scotland, near which the Dutch uſed to fiſh: he ſent to them, in a civil manner, to deſire they would ſend him ſome fiſh, which they brutiſhly refuſed; whereupon he ordered three or four cannon to be diſcharged from the caſtle, (for their boats were in reach of the ſhot,) and immediately, they ſent him more than he wanted.

The Dutch are like a knot of ſharpers among a parcel of honeſt gentlemen, who think they underſtand play, and are bubbled of their money. I love them for the love they have to their country; which, however, is no virtue in them, becauſe it is their private intereſt, which is directly contrary in England. In the Queen's time, I did often preſs the Lord-treaſurer Oxford, and others of the miniſtry, upon this very ſubject; but the anſwer was, "We muſt not offend the "Dutch;" who, at that very time, were oppoſing us in all our ſteps towards a peace. I laughed to ſee the zeal that miniſtry had about the

fiſhing

fiſhing at Newfoundland (I think) while no care was taken againſt the Dutch fiſhing juſt at our doors.

As to my native country, I happened indeed, by a perfect accident, to be born here, my mother being left here from returning to her houſe at Leiceſter, and I was a year old before I was ſent to England: and thus I am a Teague, or an Iriſhman, or what people pleaſe, although the beſt part of my life was in England.

What I did for this country, was from perfect hatred of tyranny and oppreſſion, for which I had a proclamation againſt me of 300 l. which my old friend, my Lord Carteret, was forced to conſent to, the very firſt or ſecond night of his arrival hither. The crime was, that of writing againſt a project of one Wood, an ironmonger, to coin 100,000 l. in halfpence, not worth a ſixth part of the money, which was laid before the people in ſo plain a manner, that they all refuſed it; and ſo the nation was preſerved from immediate ruin.

I have done ſome ſmaller ſervices to this kingdom; but I can do no more. I have too many years upon me, and have too much ſickneſs. I am out of favour at court, where I was well received, during two ſummers, ſix and ſeven years ago. The governing people here do not love me. For, as corrupt as England is, it is an habitation of ſaints, in compariſon of Ireland. We are all fl—s, and kn—s, and fools; and all, but biſhops and people in employments, beggars.

The caſh of Ireland does not amount to 200,000l. The few honeſt men among us are dead-hearted, poor, and out of favour and power.

I talked to two or three gentlemen of this Houſe of Commons, now ſitting here; and mentioning your ſcheme, ſhewed how very advantageous it would be to Ireland. They agreed with me; but ſaid, that if ſuch a thing were propoſed, the members would all go out, as at a thing they had no concern in.

I believe the people of Lapland, or the Hottentots, are not ſo miſerable a people as we; for oppreſſion, ſupported by power, will infallibly introduce ſlaviſh principles. I am afraid, that, even in England, your propoſal will come to nothing. There is not virtue enough left among mankind. If your ſcheme ſhould paſs into an act, it will become a job: your ſanguine temper will cool: r—s will be the only gainers. Party and faction will intermingle, and defeat the moſt eſſential parts of the whole deſign. Standing armies, in times of peace, projects of exciſe, and bribing at elections are all you are like to be employed in; not forgetting ſeptennial parliaments, directly againſt the old Whig-principles, which always have been mine.

A gentleman of this kingdom, about three years ago, joined with ſome others in a fiſhery here, in the northern parts: they advanced 200 l. by way of trial: they got men from Orkney to cure their fiſh, who underſtood it well. But the vulgar folks of Ireland are ſo lazy and ſo knaviſh, that

that it turned to no account, nor would any body join with them: and ſo the matter fell, and they loſt two-thirds of their money. Oppreſſed beggars are always knaves; and, I believe, there hardly are any other among us. They had rather gain a ſhilling by knavery, than five pounds by honeſt dealing. They loſt 30,000 l. a year for ever, in the time of the plague at Marſeilles, when the Spaniards would have bought all their linen from Ireland: but the merchants and the weavers ſent over ſuch abominable linen, that it was all returned back, or ſold for a fourth part of the value. This is our condition, which you may pleaſe to pity, but never can mend. I wiſh you good ſucceſs with all my heart. I have always loved good projects, but have always found them to miſcarry. I am, Sir, with true eſteem for your good intentions,

Your moſt obedient ſervant.

P. S. I would ſubſcribe my name, if I had not a very bad one; ſo I leave you to gueſs it. If I can be of any ſervice to you in this kingdom, I ſhall be glad you will employ me.

A LATIN

A

LATIN LETTER,

IN THE

GRATTANIAN STYLE:

Written by Dr. SHERIDAN.

LATINITAS GRATTANIANA.

DOMINE,

TU cogitabas quod egi duram rem in intrando judicium ſupra vinculum tuum, et quatuor claudendo mortgagias: non potui adjuvare id, quoniam eram valde durum poſitus ei pro nummum. Ego deſidero te tenere linguam, et ne tergum morde me aliquid longior; nam ſi facis, ſupra meam animam te tundam deorſum primum tempus quod occurro te. Eſt pulchra res quod homo non poteſt rogare pro ſuo, quin vocas illum nomina, et das illi peſſimum verbum in ore tuo. Semel magis jubeo te tenere linguam, vel potes eſſe certus quod non frangam juramentum. Sum nunciatus quod uxor tuus ſimile ſapienti capit magnas libertates cum me; profecto illa habuit melior eſſe quietus, vel nunciabo illi ſuum ac cito ac video illam. Noſco valde bene tu potes gignere pecuniam a centum manibus, ſi places; igitur fac feſtinationem, nam diabolus cape me ſi famulabor unus

unus dies plus. Sic do te pulchram cautionem aſpicere ad teipſum, nam habebo te in carcere ante menſis it circa, ſi non ſum ſolvitus. Prope eſt induſium, ſed propior eſt cutis; et charitas incipit apud domum. Habeo novem infantes et uxor; non poſſum tenere illos ſupra nihil, et ora habebunt cibum. Sic neceſſitas habet nullum lex. Omnes hi res ſunt ſatis oſtendere te magnus opus in quo ſum; ideo dico te in brevi habebo pecuniam quodlibet quadrantem. Sum

Tuus humilis famulus,

BLUNDERORIUS PETTIFOGGARIUS.

Sine me habere lineam vel duo, ut ſciam quid dependeam ſupra.

A LETTER

TO

DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

ANGLO-LATIN.

[*As the following is the only piece of the kind that perhaps ever was written; we doubt not but the curious and polite, will find ſome agreeable entertainment in the peruſal of it.*]

Ill us try ſigh may Do my nay,

IN vain I vye am new pear am deſcry bend a late in night a tea. Dice eaſe force an ſpay

row

row hock eſſay a liquid no vye ake a claw dabble is. Tame puſs e'er it poſe ſtack come me a ſye low ſo ſye a law dabb bitter a tea. Eaſt nay ill lay a my cuz veſt err it a e'er you dye t'us you teague o ſome; add ſqme mum all tear ſock rates, ought a wriſt I days? Can toe carrmen I am become, here o I come, home e'er I come. Egg o a mow tea; ſaid eaſe nay Sr does come add tea meet toe litter as tun on lay jays, neck aw dire veal is? Aw dye vye tea few is ſea a man tame you nigh us pew ell lay leap I dice I may, for mow ſay, ſaid paw pear I may, ſaid dive eaſe may lye us place ſea bitt patt rye veſt row.

Codd add raiſe belly eat pace is at tin net, my high my nigh may like wet, neck raiſe awe jike as no vye. Sat is eaſt aw dye ray a ball I is. Wrecks bay nay valet, come rage in a eat inn fan tye buſs, eat aw lice is, pray ſip you ay ake witty ill us try: Said hock egg o nigh hill cur o, come paw lull'um may a matt; at egg o ill loſs mine us. Feel licks ſort tea may ah: Sick dice it whore as I us: In tea jear vye tea ſeal err riſque pure us: I dame vye day, eat ſet her a. Dumb ſpy row, ſpay row.

Some hew my lime us do mine aſs I own is veſt ray.

Vye like us.

P. S. Ray ſea pye veſt ram ape piſt o lamb, quay eaſt a duck inn many buſs.

AN EPISTLE IN HARD LATIN, FROM Dr. SWIFT to Dr. SHERIDAN.

DOMINE,

AUDIVI * quòd abra fœminæ nobilis et mihi amicæ offendendo pedem ad paxillum vel ridicam, vel, ut alii dicunt, rutabulum; valdè læsit uropygium, et eſt miſerè catax. Novi ejus patrem, capitularem, et ſubleſtum, et carnarium, qui

* As all the words in this and the following Letter, which cauſe any difficulty, are extremely uncommon, we preſume it will not be amiſs to print a Gloſſary, in order to ſave our Readers the plague and trouble of turning over a Dictionary.

Abra, a waiting-woman: *Quod ſit* delicata, *non vulgaris Ancilla.*
Paxillus, a ſtake, pale, or poſt.
Ridica, the prop of a vine, *&c.*
Rutabulum, a maukin, a cole-rake to make clean an oven, an oven-ſwoop, a ſkealing-ſtick.
Uropygium, the narroweſt and loweſt part of the chine, the rump.
Catax, lame, hip-halt.
Capitularis, a tax-gatherer, an exciſeman.
Subleſtus, weak, feeble; of no eſteem or account.
Carnarius, a butcher.

Hornotinus,

qui furatus erat hornotinum per oſtium clathratum, et ut meruit, a vulgo occillatus. Pauper enim erat, gaunaco et decotibus veſtitus; pernionibus claudicans laboravit. Frequentavit ſui ſimiles, propolas nempe, arilatores, cociones, imò ſaliſubſulos et labdas, omnes, ut meruerant, tribonibus veſtitos.

Pridiè tabellio ad me attuiit epiſtolam de ſtlata et catta in portu obrutis, unde miſer perdidi cadiſcum ſtrobilorum plerum, duo hauſtra, calpar, decem ſcutellas, calignam, et, quod maximè dolet, crocotulam

Hornotinus, a fawn or hind-calf.
Clathratus, latticed, barred, grated.
Occillo, to buffet, or beat and maul.
Gaunacum, a thick ſhag rug to cover one with, an Iriſh mantle.
Decotes, *Togæ detritæ*, garments worn bare.
Pernio, a kibe on the heel.
Propola, a huckſter, or retailer, a foreſtaller, a regrater, *&c.*
Arilator, a pedlar.
Cocio, a higler.
Saliſubſulus, a morris-dancer, any one who dances and capers to muſic.
Labda, any ſort of vile filthy raſcal.
Tribon, a threadbare clock.
Tabellio, a carrier of letters.
Stlata, a float, a hoy, a flat-boat.
Catta, *nomen navis.*
Cadiſcus, a rundlet, a kilderkin, or little barrel.
Strobilus, a pine-apple.
Plerus, idem quod *plenus.*
Hauſtrum, a bucket; alſo a kind of pot, or jug, to draw drink with.
Calpar, an earthen veſſel, or tun.
Scutella, any kind of diſh or platter.
Caligna, as this word ſeems to be derived from κᾶλον, *lignum*, perhaps it ſignifies a large wooden bowl.

Crocotula,

crocotulam nuper uxori emptam, ſed ſpero me redhoſtiturum fore.

Amicus noſter catulaſter lepidiſſimus hominum miſerè vivit in domuncula veſcarum plena, proficiebus paſcitur, operando ſtrigans et conquiniſcens, et turundis pullos paſcit in tuguriolo ſerphorum pleno.

Heſterna nocte cecidit terribiliſſima labes mantiſſa, quæ inlices omnes implevit.

Sum humiliſſimus, &c.

Crocotula, a little ſaffron-coloured, or yellow garment.

Redhoſtio, to requite a courteſy, to return like for like: But here it may ſignify, To make a preſent of juſt ſuch another garment.

Catulaſter, a little whelp.

Veſca, a cobweb.

Proficies, perhaps it may ſignify a ſupply, or ſubſidy, given as a preſent.

Strigo, to breathe, or reſt in work; to ſtop or ſtand ſtill, as oxen ſometimes do at plough in the middle of a furrow.

Conquiniſco, to duck the head, to bow or bend the body, to ſtoop.

Turunda, a pellet of bread, dough, or paſte, wherewith capons are crammed.

Serphus, a kind of vermin like an ant.

Labes, a great fall, or paſh of rain or hail, *&c.*

Mantiſſa, qu. *manutenſa*, eo quod manu porrigitur. Over-meaſure, advantage, the vantage or over-weight. The Welch call it *Iſpine*.

Inlex, *inlices canales*, gutters in ſtreets.

A N

A N S W E R

TO THE

EPISTLE IN HARD LATIN.

By DOCTOR SHERIDAN.

Doctissime Decane,

FORBUM tabellarum methodium veſtrarum lagonopono me fermè affecit, quo circa hoſtire veſtræ reverentiæ gerras aggredior. Quid mea refert ſi uropygium abræ ignobilis ſit læſum? Ejuſmodi etenim mulieres plerumque ſunt exbuæ, atque rimarum non minùs plenæ quàm excerniculæ; profectò non mihi injucundum foret ſi tu eſſes illi iatraliptes. Si véro curam ſuſcipias, non abs

Forbus, Calidus, *Serv.* Formus a Θερμος: Æol. Φερμος. aliter a *forbo*, vel *forvo;* i. e, *Ferveo*, hot, warm.
Tabella, a letter, or epiſtle.
Methodium, a trick, a cheat, a cunning fetch.
Lagonoponos, a fretting to the guts.
Hoſtio, to recompenſe, to return like for like.
Gerræ, hurdles, or twigs filled up with earth, for fortifying a place; gabions, *&c.*
Exbuæ, tippling goſſips.
Excerniculum, a ſieve.
Iatraliptes, a phyſician or ſurgeon that cures by ointments and frictions.

Cretaphitæ,

abs re fuerit illius crotaphitas ambabus calidè manibus fricare ne ſpiritus deficiant, atque inde porrò ad podicem deſcendens, poſtquam complutum aquâ vitæ feceris, applicueris emplaſtrum calligoni, mattiacarum tritarum, daucorum, ſuſſitieteridis, gethyonum. Caveto interim ne tibi manus imbulbitaverit, aut imbubinaverit, partili-

Crotaphitæ, the two muſcles that are in the temples.

Complutus, wetted all over.

Calligonum, way-graſs, knot-graſs.

Mattiacæ, [pilæ dict. quòd præſtantiſſimæ apud Mattiacum Germaniæ oppidum conficerentur.] Soap-balls, waſh-balls.

Tritus, common, much uſed.

Daucus, a kind of wild carrot.

Suſſitieteridis. As there is no ſuch word as this to be found in the common Dictionaries, it is imagined to have been coined by Dr. Sheridan, when he was writing this letter, in order to amuſe and puzzle his correſpondent: Or, if it be not too wild a conjecture, let us ſuppoſe the word to be thus divided, *Suſſiti et Eridis*; and then it may refer to the reſt of the ingredients of the plaſter, and eſpecially to the ſevere poignancy of the onions, in the next and laſt article: And then perhaps, the latter part of the ſentence may be thus paraphraſtically interpreted: "You might apply to the part affected a plaſter of "knot-graſs, common waſh-ball, wild carrot, and among the "reſt of the ingredients," (for Συσσιτος ſignifies a Companion) "by way of giving the whole a poignancy," (for Ἐρις ſignifies a contention for victory) "you ſhould take care that a "mixture of onion predominate in the compoſition." The word *Urticæ*, in the following period, ſeems to favour this conjecture.

Gethyon, a kind of onions, hollow leeks.

Imbulbito, to defile one's ſelf with any thing deteſtable. Vide Dictionary.

Imbubino, to defile with any thing abominable. Vide Dictionary.

Partiliter, particularly, with exactneſs or ſubtilty.

Urticæ,

ter quandò prædicti ſpiritus urticam ſenſerit; ſed ne forſan obliviſcaris, te moneo, ut pars crepidinis dorſi interior ſit fiſſiculanda. Memini illius patrem ex infimâ plebis ruderatione gingrinatorem; lucuntes olim vendidit, admodum fuit procellulus, eximius autem pilicrepus; ſed ſalaconem atque doſonem nimiùm ſe oſtendendo, minuit hanc gloriam quam exercitiis meruit. Si vis ut noſtra denuò amicitia inaleſcat, te mecum crâs prandere prorito; habebis ſympinium vel applam vini non vulgaris abſque flocibus, cum cerviſia æquè pellucidum ac glæſum. Sæpiſſimè futabas in ædibus meis nequè unquam inanias, de quibus mentionem

Urtica, a nettle, or any tickling pain like the ſting of a nettle.
Crepido, dorſi crepido, the rump.
Fiſſiculandus, to be cleft, or cut open.
Ruderatio, rubbiſh.
Gingrinator, a piper or minſtrel.
Lucuns, a kind of meat, or rather ſome baked thing; a ſpice-cake.
Pilicrepus, a ball-player.
Salacon, a great boaſter, who, being extremely poor, would be thought very rich.
Doſo, a great promiſer, but who does nothing.
Inaleſco, ut *Coaleſco*, to grow together, to ſtick one to another.
Prorito, to provoke, ſtir up, egg on.
Sympinium, a kind of wooden veſſel for wine, uſed of old in their holy rites and divine ſervices; a ſtone jug, or pitcher; a drinking cup.
Appla, ab *ad* et *pleo*, ut ſit vas quod ſubinde impletur et depletur, — a kind of veſſel uſed at table.
Floces, pl. the dregs or lees of wine.
Cerviſia, vel *Cereviſia*, *Cerealis*, liquor, ale, beer, *&c.*
Glæſum, a kind of amber.
Futo, to blame or reprove.
Inaniæ, emptineſſes, cobwebs.

Flegmen,

mentionem in epiſtolâ veſtrâ feciſti, in ullâ noſtrarum conſpexiſti camerarum. Heſterno die nimiùm ambulando flegmine laboro, quod ex ſtomachi ventoſitate eveniſſe comperio, ideoque magnam git quantitatem, ut poſtico emurmuret, deglutire ſtatuo.

Sum tibi humillimus, &c.

Manaco Maii 15°, 1732.

Flegmen, an inflammation or ſwelling in the legs, tired by overmuch walking.
Git, vel *Gith*, indecl. a kind of cockle, a ſmall ſeed.
Poſticum, a back-door.
Manacus, a month.

THE

CRAFTSMAN.

No. 232. SATURDAY, *Dec.* 12, 1730.

THE following article, which hath lately appeared in the news-papers, deſerveth our immediate conſideration, *viz.*

"They write from *Dublin*, that an officer from every regiment in the *French* ſervice is arrived there, in order to raiſe recruits for their reſpective corps; which is not to be done in a clandeſtine manner, as formerly, (when ſeveral perſons ſuffered death for it) but publicly. Theſe gentlemen are to diſperſe themſelves into the ſeveral counties, where they have the beſt intereſt; and a field-officer is to reſide conſtantly at *Dublin*, to hear all complaints which may be made by any of the recruits againſt their officers; and alſo to prepare for ſending them off.—Count *Broglio* hath been ſoliciting an order, to this purpoſe, theſe two years."

When I firſt read this account in the public prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of falſe intelligence, and was in full expectation of ſeeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent cuſtom; but having ſince heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it, eſpecially

as

as to every part,) the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, oblige me to take ſome notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, to give the reader a ſhort account of the nature of theſe troops, as they are now eſtabliſhed in *France*.

They conſiſt, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horſe, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered; ſo that they are, of themſelves, a very conſiderable body of men.

But their number is the leaſt point to be conſidered in this affair. There are other circumſtances, which render theſe troops infinitely more formidable to *Great Britain*. They are not only all Roman-Catholicks, but the moſt dangerous of that communion, with reſpect to us; I mean, Roman-Catholick ſubjects of our own dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country on account of rebellions and conſpiracies, in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted, by inclination, by intereſt, by conſcience, by every motive human and divine, to the ſervice of the Pretender, in oppoſition to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his Majeſty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally eſteemed the beſt forces in the *French* ſervice; that they have always behaved themſelves as ſuch in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great ſkill and experience in military affairs.

It

It is ſaid likewiſe, that the ſerjeants, corporals, and private men are ſo well ſeaſoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that by a gradual promotion, they could furniſh officers for a very formidable army, in caſe of any ſudden invaſion or inſurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony by act of parliament in *Ireland*, for any ſubject of that kingdom to enliſt himſelf, or to enliſt others, in the ſervice of any foreign ſtate; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have ſuffered death upon that account.

We know it may be ſaid, that a power is reſerved to his Majeſty, by a clauſe in that act, to diſpenſe with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raiſe forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his ſubjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to diſpute any of his Majeſty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wiſdom of the legiſlature in queſtion, yet I muſt take the liberty to obſerve, that ſuch powers have been ſometimes granted out of complaiſance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be abſolutely tied up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or poſſibly of ſome proteſtant ally, upon great emergencies of ſtate. The exerciſe of the prerogative in theſe caſes, is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the diſcretion

cretion of the prince and his miniſters, who ought always to be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of theſe affairs: and therefore, how ridiculous would it be to ſend to the attorney-general for his opinion in ſuch a caſe, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the affair be actionable or not? But miniſters ought to regulate their conduct, in theſe reſpects, according to the ſituation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I muſt therefore beg leave to conſider the preſent ſubject, of the *Iriſh* forces, in this light.

It will not be denied, I preſume, that a licence to recruit Roman-Catholick regiments of *Engliſh* ſubjects, in foreign ſervice, and in the intereſt of a pretender to the crown (which is death by the law, without his Majeſty's permiſſion) is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with ſome extraordinary circumſtances. I confeſs that I can ſee no ſuch extraordinary circumſtances at preſent; unleſs it ſhould be ſaid that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope they have more generoſity than to inſiſt upon ſuch hard terms for the effectual performance of that, which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am ſure, ſuch conditions ſeem unreaſonable on our part, after we have made them ſo many other conceſſions; particularly with relation to the flag and *Santa Lucia*; which, I think, are ſufficient to make them comply with all our demands, without

out expecting any farther favours, and even ſupererogations of friendſhip.

Perhaps my adverſaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this ſtrain: but as it ſometimes ſerveth their turn to make me a great man, and to argue againſt me as ſuch, I will for once ſuppoſe myſelf ſo; and, methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that ſtation, I could reaſon againſt ſuch an order, for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner:

1. Theſe troops have always been made uſe of, whenever there hath been any attempt in favour of the pretender; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fitteſt for this purpoſe. They are our fellow-ſubjects; they ſpeak our language; are acquainted with our manners; and do not raiſe that averſion in the people, which they naturally conceive againſt other foreign troops, who underſtand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpoſe, in entire regiments, without ſuffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known, at leaſt, that they ſupplied the late king *James* with a nurſery of ſoldiers, who were always ready for his ſervice, whenever any opportunity offered itſelf for his reſtoration; and that at this time the pretender is always the bait made uſe of by their officers to raiſe recruits. They never mention the king of *France*, or the king of *Spain*, upon theſe occaſions; but liſt the poor wretches under an aſſurance, that they are entered

ed into the ſervice of him, whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not ſuſpect the preſent fidelity of *France*, and their cordiality to the proteſtant eſtabliſhment; yet methinks we might eaſily excuſe ourſelves from furniſhing them with inſtruments, which they may employ againſt us, whenever ambition, or reaſons of ſtate, ſhall diſſolve their preſent engagements, and induce them to eſpouſe the cauſe of the pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his catholic majeſty (who hath likewiſe ſeveral regiments of this kind in his ſervice) will expect the ſame favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in caſe of refuſal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and diſturbing us again in the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*: And here it is proper juſt to take notice, that theſe troops did his catholic majeſty the moſt eminent ſervice in the laſt ſiege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the ſame manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the moſt favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of *Ireland* ſeemeth, at this time, in a very ill condition to admit of any ſuch draughts out of her dominions. She hath been already ſo much exhauſted by the voluntary tranſportation of multitudes of her inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to ſeek their bread in other parts of the world) that the interpoſition of parliament

liament was found neceſſary to put a ſtop to it; and ſhall we ſuffer any foreign power to drain her ſtill farther, under ſuch circumſtances; eſpecially in this manner, and for this purpoſe? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confeſſed, I think, that they want above two thouſand men to complete their corps: and, who knoweth but they may deſign to raiſe a great many more than they care to own; or even to form ſome new regiments of theſe troops? But ſuppoſing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a capacity to ſpare them; it is well known how eaſily ſuch limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commiſſion. This was ſufficiently explained in the late famous controverſy, concerning Mr. *Wood*'s patent for ſupplying *Ireland* with a particular ſum of copper halfpence; and the arguments upon that ſubject may be applied to this, with ſome allowances for the difference between the two caſes. It may, perhaps, be ſaid likewiſe, that all the vigilance of the miniſtry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandeſtinely recruiting theſe regiments with *Iriſh* catholics; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our intereſt to let them purge *Ireland* of her popiſh inhabitants as much as they pleaſe. But I deny this, for ſeveral reaſons, which I ſhall mention preſently: and if it were really the caſe, that the *French* can at any time

time recruit theſe troops clandeſtinely, I cannot ſee any reaſon why they ſhould ſolicit an order ſo preſſingly, for two years together, to do it openly, unleſs they have ſome other deſign. Ought not even this conſideration to put us a little upon our guard? and is it not a tacit confeſſion, that theſe troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wiſh? Beſides, are we to licence and authoriſe a miſchievous practice, becauſe we cannot totally prevent it? Every one juſtly applauded his Majeſty's ſingular firmneſs and reſolution, in ſupporting the rights of his *German* ſubjects, when an attempt was made to ſeduce ſome of them into the king of *Pruſſia*'s ſervice, although perhaps it is impoſſible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the enliſting a miller's ſon, and a few other ordinary peaſants, occaſioned ſuch a miſunderſtanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almoſt to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the *Engliſh* parliament backward on this occaſion; but, on this conſideration, amongſt others, reſolved to keep up a body of 12,000 *Heſſian* troops in our pay, which have already coſt us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the ſame paternal care will always influence his Majeſty to guard and protect his *Britiſh* ſubjects in the ſame manner; and if any meaſure ſhould be taken, which favours too much of the *French* intereſt, and ſeemeth of dangerous conſequence to the intereſt of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful repreſentations

of thoſe who lie under ſuch particular obligations to the court of *France*, that they can refuſe them nothing.

4. Such a licence ſeemeth to give encouragement to the people of *Ireland* to continue Roman-Catholics; ſince they are ſure to meet with a proviſion both in the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſervice; whereas, we always reject them in our troops, and abſolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be ſafe to truſt them in our armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the leaſt encouragement to their entering into foreign ſervice; eſpecially into ſuch compact bodies as theſe regiments. And here it will not be amiſs to relate a ſtory, much to the honour of an *Engliſh* nobleman, who hath alſo one of the largeſt eſtates in *Ireland* of any man in the kingdom. When he went to viſit the invalids in *France*, a place in the nature of our *Chelſea* college here, all the *Iriſh* officers and ſoldiers of that hoſpital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no queſtion that their chief view was to have ſome preſent from his lordſhip: but, though he hath an heart as well diſpoſed to generous charity as any man, and a purſe well able to anſwer the dictates of it; yet, out of regard to his country, for which he hath likewiſe the moſt diſintereſted zeal, his anſwer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am very ſenſible of the honour you have done me, and heartily pity your misfortunes; but as you have drawn them upon yourſelves, by ſerving againſt your

your country, you muſt not expect any relief or reward from me, for having ſuffered in a ſervice, in which I wiſh you had never engaged."

5. Is there not ſome reaſon to apprehend that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a ſnare to that country, and draw many people into their deſtruction? for, unleſs it is made perpetual, it cannot be ſuppoſed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom ſhould be apprized how long this licence is to be in force; or when they may liſt with impunity, and when they may not. Beſides, as it may be preſumed that theſe officers will never go, for the future, upon ſuch errands, without ſome pretended orders, when the real one is expired; ſo they will find it no difficult matter to impoſe ſuch a counterfeit upon illiterate people; who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing any thing of the matter. Such a method of providing for perſons, whoſe principles render them unſerviceable in our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late * project for preventing *Iriſh* children from being ſtarved, by fatting them up, and ſelling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that theſe troops have been made uſe of, in parliament, as an argument for keeping up a ſtanding army in *England*; and I think we need not take any meaſures to render that argument ſtronger. God knows, there are too many arguments always ready upon ſuch occaſions.

I might inſiſt upon ſome other points, which

* See Vol. IV. p. 335.

this affair naturally ſuggeſteth to a conſidering mind; particularly the danger of ſuffering ſeveral bigotted *Iriſh* Papiſts, in foreign ſervice, to diſperſe themſelves into thoſe counties where they have the beſt intereſt, and to ſtroll about *Ireland* amongſt their relations and old acquaintance, of the ſame principles with themſelves. Are we ſure that they will not make a bad uſe of this liberty, by enquiring into the ſtrength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert meaſures for the advantage of their cauſe? Have we no reaſon to apprehend that they may endeavour to raiſe ſeamen as well as ſoldiers, under colour of this order? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to tranſport themſelves over to the *French* colonies and plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading intereſt of *Great-Britain* in thoſe parts?

But whatever may be the motives to ſuch an extraordinary favour, or the conſequences of it, I am ſure it is the ſtrongeſt mark of our confidence in *France*, and ſuch an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any occaſion. I will illuſtrate this by a parallel caſe.

The *French* proteſtants, who fled over hither from a perſecution on account of religion, never diſcovered any principles, which were incompatible with the civil government of *France*, nor ever ſet up any pretender to the preſent Royal Family of that kingdom; and yet, if we ſhould think fit to form any conſiderable number of them into com-

plete,

plete, diſtinct regiments, to be compoſed of *French* proteſtants only, and commanded by *French* officers, without any incorporation of *Britiſh* ſoldiers; I fancy it would give our good Allies ſome umbrage. But I am almoſt confident, that they would never permit us to ſend over a proteſtant *French* officer from every regiment to recruit their reſpective corps, by diſperſing themſelves into thoſe provinces where they have the beſt intereſt; or ſuffer a field officer, in *Engliſh* pay, to reſide conſtantly in *Paris*, and exerciſe a ſort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I ſay, they would hardly ſuffer this, even though our ambaſſadors ſhould ſolicit ſuch an order, with the utmoſt application, for twenty years together.

And yet the caſe of the *Iriſh* forces is much ſtronger with reſpect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion; but hold principles abſolutely deſtructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a ſtanding army, kept on foot to ſerve the Pretender upon any occaſion.

I muſt aſk a queſtion or two, which naturally offer themſelves in this place.

What power is this field-officer to exerciſe during his reſidence in *Dublin?* Is the *French* martial law to take place, if any of theſe recruits ſhould happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to deſert?

Troops are generally armed as ſoon as they are liſted. Is this rule to be obſerved in the preſent

caſe? If ſo, another queſtion occurreth. It hath been found neceſſary, for the ſecurity of *Ireland*, to reſtrain all Roman Catholicks from wearing or keeping any arms in their houſes. I aſk, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to ſuperſede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garriſon of *Dublin* ſeldom conſiſteth of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Suppoſing double that number of popiſh recruits ſhould be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be ſaid that there is no juſt apprehenſion of danger? But as theſe ſuggeſtions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of *France* (a caſe not to be ſuppoſed at preſent) I will preſs them no farther.

I muſt however repeat it, that this order is the fulleſt demonſtration of the confidence we repoſe in them: and I hope they will ſcorn to make any bad uſe of it. But if it were poſſible to ſuſpect that they could have any deſign to play the knave with us, they could not wiſh for a better opportunity to promote it, than by ſuch a power as is now ſaid to be put into their hands.

I hope my remarks on this article of news will not be conſtrued in a *Jacobite* ſenſe, even by the moſt proſtitute ſcribblers of the preſent times: but I muſt beg leave to expoſtulate a little with the public on that mean and infamous practice, which theſe writers have lately uſed, in explaining ſome of my papers into treaſonable libels; taking an occaſion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down, as a point

a point granted, that there is an actual, concerted deſign, of ſetting aſide the preſent eſtabliſhment. This is a practice which may be of great ſervice to the real enemies to the preſent government; and every *Jacobite* in the kingdom may make uſe of it, to publiſh the moſt explicit invectives on the king and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit deſign of other writings. It is a practice, which never was allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the ſecret meaning of any author, ſuch explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are puniſhable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of conſtruction. Theſe writers ought to remember the caſe of Sir *Richard Steele*, who publiſhed the Pretender's declaration, at the beginning of the late reign, with an anſwer annexed; and although he did it with a very good deſign, yet it was univerſally allowed to be contrary to law; and, if his principles of loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a ſevere proſecution. I ſhall make no reflections on thoſe, who encourage ſuch ſcandalous explanations; and thoſe, who are hired to do it, are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common-places of ſervile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by ſuch nauſeous, diſhoneſt adulation, as, I am ſure, gives the moſt offence to thoſe perſons to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they pleaſe. Let them charge me with deſigns,

deſigns, which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot juſtly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knoweth my heart, I am as zealous for the welfare of the preſent Royal Family, as the moſt ſordid of theſe ſycophants. I am ſenſible, that our happineſs dependeth on the ſecurity of his Majeſty's title, and the preſervation of the preſent government, upon thoſe principles, which eſtabliſhed them at the late glorious Revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of *Britons* to the lateſt generations. Theſe have always been my principles; and whoever will give himſelf the trouble of looking over the courſe of theſe papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide: but I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old man, who am not afraid to ſpeak the truth; and as I have no reliſh for flattery myſelf, I ſcorn to beſtow it on others. I have not, however, been ſparing of juſt praiſe, nor ſlipt any ſeaſonable opportunity to diſtinguiſh the royal virtues of their preſent Majeſties. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expreſſions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpoliſhed for the climate of a court; but they flowed purely from the ſincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings hath proceeded from my zeal for the intereſt of my king and my country.

With regard to my adverſaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not moſt to be depended upon,

upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loadeth him with fulſome flatteries; but takes the honeſt liberty of warning him againſt the meaſures of thoſe who are endeavouring to miſlead him. The caſe is much ſtronger in public life; and a crown is beſet with ſo many difficulties, that even a prince of the moſt conſummate wiſdom is not always ſufficiently guarded againſt the dangers, which ſurround him, from the ſtratagems of artful miniſters, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad miniſters, and purſue the ſame methods of ſupporting themſelves, by flattering him into meaſures which tend to his deſtruction.

But it is time to draw to a concluſion: and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any deſign, contrary to the intereſt of the preſent eſtabliſhment, I ſhould have ſate down contented, and ſecretly rejoiced at the affair, which occaſioned this paper, inſtead of giving myſelf and the reader ſo much trouble.

C. D.

THE

ANSWER

TO THE

CRAFTSMAN.

SIR,

I DETEST reading your papers, becauſe I am not of your principles, and becauſe I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruſe your CRAFTSMAN of *December* the 12th, wherein I diſcover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleaſed to reflect on a project I propoſed of making the children of *Iriſh* parents to be uſeful to the public, inſtead of being burthenſome; and you venture to aſſert, that your own ſcheme is more charitable, of not permitting our popiſh natives to be liſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, Sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom ſo unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a ſort of goods, of no intrinſic value, which it coſteth us above forty thouſand pounds a year to dreſs, and ſcour, and poliſh, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above

ſeven

ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one ſingle farthing in return; even the money paid for letters ſent in tranſacting this commerce being all returned to *England*. But now, when there is a moſt lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will ſave many thouſand pounds a year, and *England* be a prodigious gainer, you are pleaſed, without a call, officiouſly and maliciouſly to interpoſe with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that, about ſixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to *England* was of great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffick was ſtopt by an act of parliament on your ſide, whereof you have ſufficient reaſon to repent. Upon which account, when another act paſſed your parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were ſo wiſe to put in a clauſe, allowing it to be done by his Majeſty's permiſſion, under his ſign manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *Britiſh* legiſlature. Yet this very grace and favour, you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, whom we never diſobliged, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to ſay, is a manifeſt mark of your diſaffection to his Majeſty, a want of duty to the miniſtry, a wicked deſign of oppreſſing this kingdom, and a traiterous attempt to leſſen the trade and manufactures of *England*.

Our

Our trueſt and beſt Ally, the moſt Chriſtian King, hath obtained his Majeſty's licence, purſuant to law, to export from hence ſome thouſand bodies of healthy, young, living men, to ſupply his *Iriſh* regiments. The king of *Spain*, as you aſſert yourſelf, hath deſired the ſame civility, and ſeemeth to have at leaſt as good a claim. Suppoſing then that theſe two potentates will only deſire leave to carry off ſix thouſand men between them to *France* and *Spain*; then, by computing the maintenance of a tall, hungry *Iriſh* man, in food and cloaths, to be only at five pounds a head, here will be thirty thouſand pounds *per annum* ſaved clear to the nation; for they can find no other employment at home, beſide begging, robbing, or ſtealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand, (which we could gladly ſpare) were ſent on the ſame errand, what an immenſe benefit muſt it be to us! and, if the two princes, in whoſe ſervice they were, ſhould happen to be at war with each other, how ſoon would thoſe recruits be deſtroyed; then what a number of friends would the Pretender loſe, and what a number of popiſh enemies all true proteſtants get rid of! Add to this, that then, by ſuch a practice, the lands of *Ireland*, that want hands for tillage, muſt be employed in grazing, which would ſink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, ſo that the *Engliſh* might have them at their own rates; and, in return, ſend us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horſes, without any labour of our own.

Upon

Upon this occaſion, I deſire humbly to offer a ſcheme, which, in my opinion, would beſt anſwer the true intereſts of both kingdoms: for, although I bear a moſt tender, filial affection for *England*, my dear native country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble iſland hath a great ſhare in my love and eſteem, nor can I expreſs how much I deſire to ſee it flouriſh in trade and opulence, even beyond its preſent happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, uſually computed at ſeventeen millions of acres, all which I propoſe to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thouſand acres. Thus, ſixteen millions eight hundred thouſand acres may be managed by eight thouſand four hundred families, and the fraction of two hundred thouſand acres will be more than ſufficient for cabins, out-houſes, and potatoe-gardens; becauſe, it is to be underſtood, that corn of all ſorts muſt be ſent to us from *England*.

Theſe eight thouſand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houſes in each province; and making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to ſixty-ſeven thouſand two hundred ſouls; to theſe we are to add a ſtanding army of twenty-thouſand *Engliſh*, which, together with their trulls, their baſtards, and their horſe-boys, will, by a groſs computation, very near double the account, and be very ſufficient for the defence and graz-

ing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And, leſt the army ſhould be at a loſs for buſineſs, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes for paying themſelves and the civil liſt.

I adviſe, that all the owners of theſe lands ſhould live conſtantly in *England*, in order to learn politeneſs, and qualify themſelves for employments: but for fear of increaſing the natives in this iſland, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever prince will bear the carriage; or tranſplanted to the *Engliſh* dominions on the *American* continent, as a ſcreen between his Majeſty's *Engliſh* ſubjects and the ſavage *Indians*.

I adviſe likewiſe, that no commodity whatſoever, of this nation's growth, ſhould be ſent to any other country, except *England*, under the penalty of high treaſon; and that all the ſaid commodities ſhall be ſent in their natural ſtate, the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the ſtub; excepting only fiſh, butter, tallow, and whatever elſe will be ſpoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatſoever ſhall be imported hither, except from *England*, under the ſame penalty: that *England* ſhould be forced, at their own rates, to ſend us over cloaths ready made, as well as ſhirts and ſmocks to the ſoldiers and their trulls; all iron, wooden, and earthenware; and whatever furniture may be neceſſary for the cabins of graziers, with a ſufficient quantity

quantity of gin, and other ſpirits, for thoſe who can afford to get drunk on holydays.

As to the civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, which I have not fully conſidered, I can ſay little; only, with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tythes for ſupporting ſpeculative opinions in religion, which is ſo unſupportable a burthen to all true proteſtants, and to moſt churchmen, will be very much leſſened by this expedient; becauſe dry cattle pay nothing to the ſpiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; ſo that the induſtrious ſhepherd and cow-herd may ſit, every man under his own blackberry-buſh, and his own potatoe-bed, whereby this happy iſland will become a new *Arcadia*.

I do likewiſe propoſe, that no money ſhall be uſed in *Ireland*, except what is made of leather, which likewiſe ſhall be coined in *England*, and imported; and that the taxes ſhall be levied out of the commodities we export for *England*, and there turned into money for his Majeſty's uſe; and the rents to landlords diſcharged in the ſame manner. This will be no manner of grievance; for we already ſee it very practicable to live without money, and ſhall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper ſhall continue to ſupply that defect, or whether we ſhall hang up all thoſe who profeſs the trade of bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) muſt be left to the conſideration of wiſer politicians.

That which maketh me more zealouſly bent

upon this ſcheme, is my deſire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means, without effect, to that bleſſed end: and, by the courſe of meaſures taken for ſome years paſt, it ſhould ſeem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon ſeveral accounts: for, as to *England*, they have a juſt claim to the balance of trade on their ſide with the whole world; and therefore our anceſtors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conqueſt to themſelves; eſpecially, when the conqueſt was amicably made, without bloodſhed, by ſtipulation between the *Iriſh* princes and *Henry* II. by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of *Germany* do the emperor, but very near the ſame that he did to the king of *France* for his *French* dominions.

In conſequence of this claim from *England*, that kingdom may very reaſonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a ſufficient quantity of them for our uſe to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other ſide, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers, when time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, ſheering their ſheep, and ſending over their oxen fit for ſlaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature,

nature, as deſcended from the *Scythians*, whoſe diet they are ſtill ſo fond of. So *Virgil* deſcribeth it:

Et lac concretum cum ſanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *Engliſh*, is bonnyclabber *, mingled with the blood of horſes, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the laſt century, when luxury, under the form of politeneſs, beginning to creep in, they changed the blood of horſes for that of their black cattle; and, by conſequence, became leſs warlike than their anceſtors.

Although I propoſed that the army ſhould be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend, that thoſe taxes ſhould be paid in gold or ſilver; but in kind, as all other rent: for the cuſtom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practiſed in any nation at preſent, except this iſland, and the ſouthern parts of *Britain*. But to my great ſatisfaction, I foreſee better times; the ancient manner beginneth to be now practiſed in many parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the county of *Corke*, where the 'ſquires turn tenants to themſelves, divide ſo many cattle to their ſlaves, who are to provide ſuch a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, ſtill keeping up their number of cattle; and carry their goods to *Corke*, or other port-towns, and then ſell them to merchants. By which invention there is no ſuch thing as a ruined farmer to be ſeen; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

* Thick, ſour milk.

ON

GOOD MANNERS

AND

GOOD BREEDING.

GOOD manners is the art of making thoſe people eaſy with whom we converſe.

Whoever makes the feweſt perſons uneaſy, is the beſt bred in the company.

As the beſt law is founded upon reaſon, ſo are the beſt manners. And as ſome lawyers have introduced unreaſonable things into common law; ſo likewiſe many teachers have introduced abſurd things into common good manners.

One principal point of this art, is to ſuit our behaviour to the three ſeveral degrees of men; our ſuperiors, our equals, and thoſe below us.

For inſtance, to preſs either of the two former to eat or drink, is a breach of manners; but a tradeſman or a farmer muſt be thus treated, or elſe it will be difficult to perſuade them they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of ſenſe, are the three great ſources of ill-manners; without ſome one of theſe defects, no man will behave himſelf ill for want of experience; or of what, in the language of fools, is called, knowing the world.

I defy

I defy any one to aſſign an incident wherein reaſon will not direct us what we are to ſay or do in company, if we are not miſled by pride, or ill-nature.

Therefore I muſt inſiſt, that good ſenſe is the principal foundation of good manners: but becauſe the former is a gift which very few among mankind are poſſeſſed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing ſome rules for common behaviour, beſt ſuited to their general cuſtoms, or fancies, as a kind of artificial good ſenſe, to ſupply the defects of of reaſon. Without which the *gentlemanly* part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they ſeldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in ſquabbles about women, or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of thoſe three motives. Upon which account, I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry to find the legiſlature make any new laws againſt the practice of duelling; becauſe the methods are eaſy, and many, for a wiſe man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can diſcover no political evil, in ſuffering bullies, ſharpers, and rakes to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law hath not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good manners were intended for regulating the conduct of thoſe who have weak underſtandings; ſo they have been corrupted by the perſons for whoſe uſe they were contrived.

contrived. For theſe people have fallen into a needleſs and endleſs way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troubleſome to thoſe who practiſe them, and inſupportable to every body elſe: inſomuch, that wiſe men are often more uneaſy at the over-civility of theſe refiners, than they could poſſibly be in the converſations of peaſants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour, are no where better ſeen than at thoſe tables, where ladies preſide; who value themſelves upon account of their good breeding; where a man muſt reckon upon paſſing an hour without doing any one thing he hath a mind to; unleſs he will be ſo hardy as to break through all the ſettled decorum of the family. She determineth what he loveth beſt, and how much he ſhall eat; and if the maſter of the houſe happeneth to be of the ſame diſpoſition, he proceedeth in the ſame tyrannical manner to preſcribe in the drinking part: at the ſame time, you are under a neceſſity of anſwering a thouſand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the beſt faſhion, yet too much of it ſtill remaineth, eſpecially in the country; where an honeſt gentleman aſſured me, that having been kept four days, againſt his will, at a friend's houſe, with all the circumſtances of hiding his boots, locking up the ſtable, and other contrivances of the like nature; he could not remember, from the moment he came into the houſe, to the moment he

he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a dutchess fairly knocked down, by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb, running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day, at court, a great lady was utterly desperate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress, and brocade; while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person that sat next her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy, and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in the company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that being china, they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge

ledge be a trifle in itſelf, the pedantry is the greater. For which reaſon, I look upon fiddlers, dancing-maſters, heralds, maſters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants, than *Lipſius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With theſe kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully ſtocked: I mean from the gentleman-uſher (at leaſt) incluſive, downward to the gentleman-porter; who are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt inſignificant race of people that this iſland can afford, and with the ſmalleſt tincture of good manners; which is the only trade they profeſs. For being wholly illiterate, and converſing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole ſyſtem of breeding within the forms and circles of their ſeveral offices: and, as they are below the notice of miniſters, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obſequiouſneſs to thoſe who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeneſs or inſolence to every body elſe. From whence I have long concluded, that good manners are not a plant of the court growth: for, if they were, thoſe people who have underſtandings directly of a level for ſuch acquirements, and who have ſerved ſuch long apprenticeſhips to nothing elſe, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great officers who attend the prince's perſon or councils, or preſide in his family, they are a tranſient body, who have no better a title to good manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourſe to gentlemen-uſhers for inſtruction. So that I know

know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumſtance of dreſs; wherein the authority of the maids of honour muſt indeed be allowed to be almoſt equal to that of a favourite actreſs.

I remember a paſſage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the Queen, the prince ſaid, he was much concerned that he could not ſee her Majeſty that night; for Monſieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had aſſured her Highneſs, that he could not be admitted into her preſence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My Lord turned the matter to a jeſt, and brought the prince to her Majeſty; for which he was highly cenſured by the whole tribe of gentlemen-uſhers; among whom Monſieur *Hoffman*, an old dull reſident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which, I believe, was the beſt leſſon he had learned in five and twenty years reſidence.

I make a difference between good manners and good breeding; although, in order to vary my expreſſion, I am ſometimes forced to confound them. By the firſt, I only underſtand the art of remembering, and applying certain ſettled forms of general behaviour. But good breeding is of a much larger extent; for beſides an uncommon degree of literature, ſufficient to qualify a gentleman

leman for reading a play, or a political pamphlet, it taketh in a great compaſs of knowledge; no leſs than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of *Italy*, riding the great horſe, and ſpeaking *French*; not to mention ſome other ſecondary, or ſubaltern accompliſhments, which are more eaſily acquired: ſo that the difference between good breeding, and good manners, lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the beſt underſtandings, without ſtudy and labour, whereas a tolerable degree of readineſs will inſtruct us in every part of good manners, without other aſſiſtance.

I can think of nothing more uſeful upon this ſubject, than to point out ſome particulars, wherein the very eſſentials of good manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which, doth very much diſturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneaſineſs in moſt companies.

Firſt, a neceſſary part of good manners, is a punctual obſervance of time at our own dwellings, or thoſe of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, buſineſs, or diverſion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reaſon, yet the greateſt * miniſter I ever knew, was the greateſt treſpaſſer againſt it; by which all his buſineſs doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often uſed to rally him, as deficient in point of good

* *Robert Harley*, earl of *Oxford*, lord high treaſurer to Queen *Anne*.

good manners. I have known more than one ambaſſador, and ſecretary of ſtate, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good ſucceſs and applauſe, by the mere force of exactneſs and regularity. If you duly obſerve time for the ſervice of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifeſt folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it. If both are concerned; to make your equal or inferior attend on you, to his own diſadvantage, is pride and injuſtice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be ſtyled ill manners; becauſe forms are ſubject to frequent changes; and conſequently being not founded upon reaſon, are beneath a wiſe man's regard. Beſides, they vary in every country; and, after a ſhort period of time, very frequently in the ſame: ſo that a man who travelleth, muſt needs be at firſt a ſtranger to them in every court through which he paſſeth; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a ſtranger in his own; and, after all, they are eaſier to be remembered, or forgotten, than faces, or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that ſuperficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the reſt; who look upon them, not only, as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and therefore zealous upon all occaſions to introduce and propagate the new forms

and fashions they have brought back with them: so that, usually speaking, the worst-bred person in the company is a young traveller just returned from abroad.

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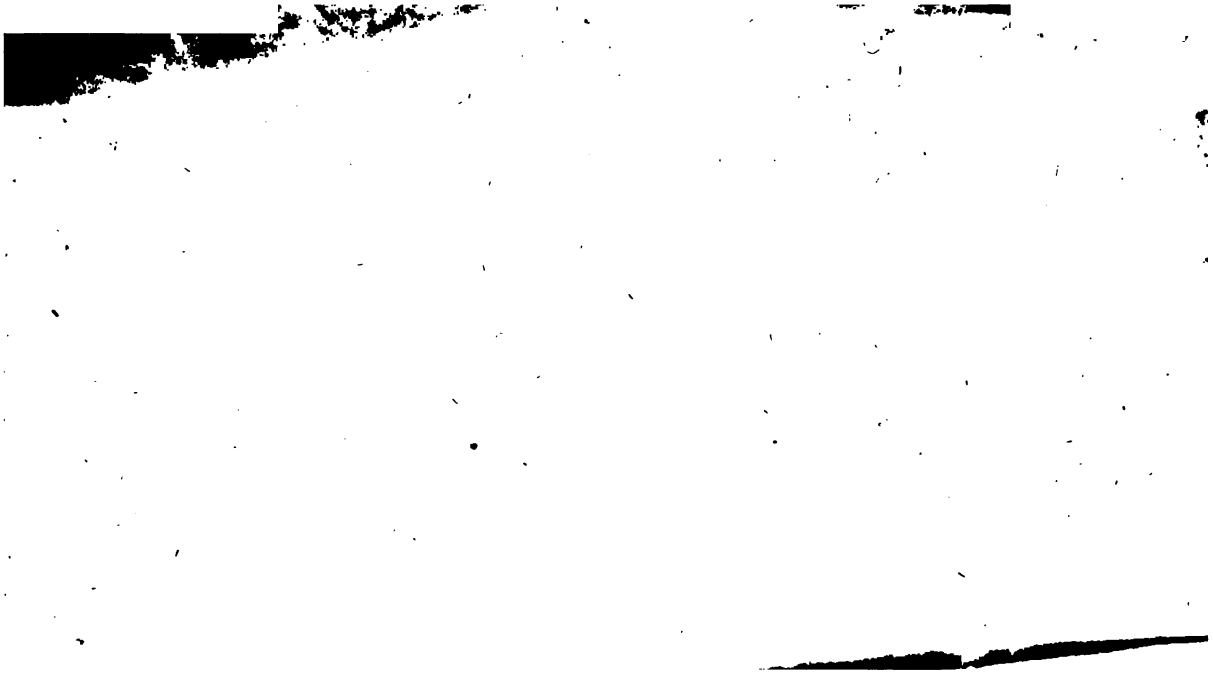

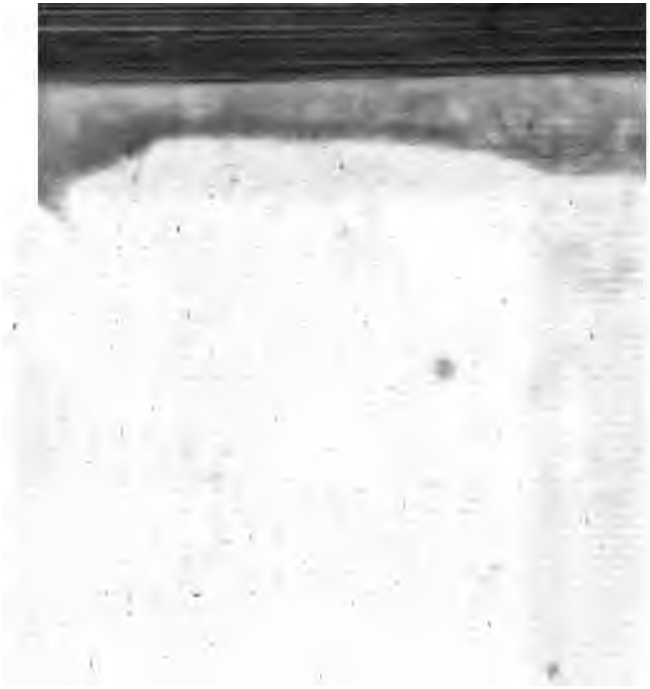

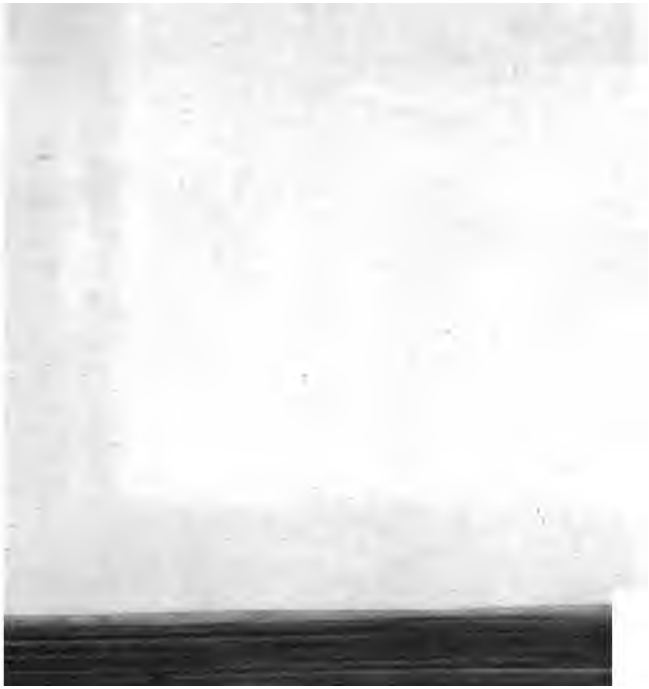

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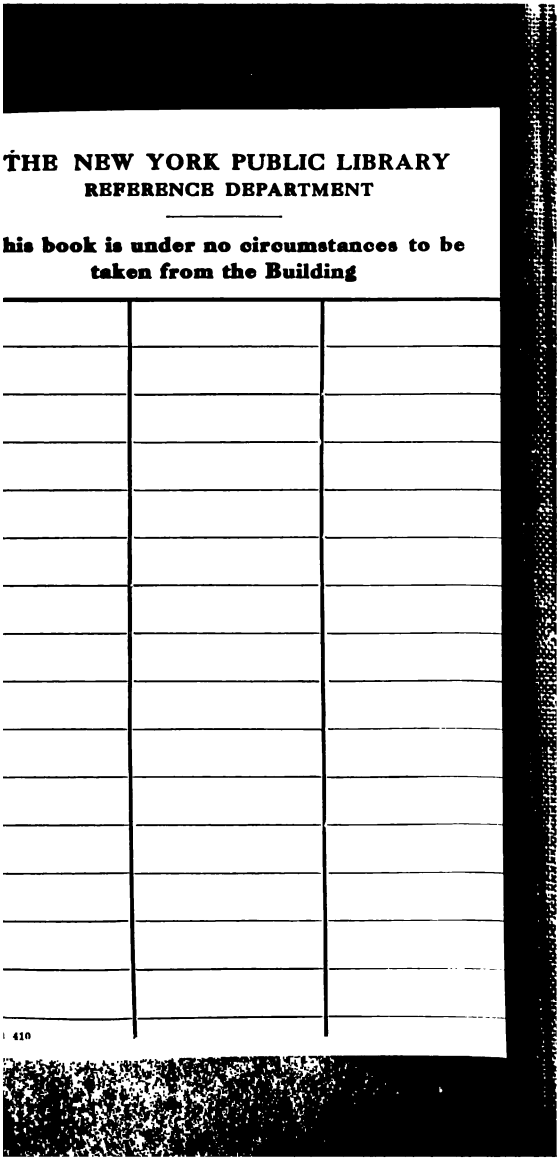

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